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endeavours, I shall not easily regret an attempt which has procured me the honour of appearing thus publicly ... [the Pali Text Society's] most obedient and most humble servant.

Cambridge

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## Chips from Buddhist Workshops Scribes and Manuscripts from Northern Thailand<sup>1</sup>

At the 4th International Conference on Thai Studies in Kunming in 1990 some colophons of old Lān<sup>2</sup>-nā Pāli manuscripts were discussed in a rather general and preliminary way<sup>3</sup>. This survey can and will be supplemented now by more detailed and new information gathered in the meantime first of all while working on a catalogue of the collection of Pāli manuscripts kept at Vat Lai Hin near Lampang. This collection is among the most remarkable ones by any standard anywhere in respect of both age and quality of the manuscripts, the oldest dated of which was copied in CS 833 : A.D. 1471. Today about 140 Pāli manuscripts are found in this collection, and quite a few fragments or single folios are sad witnesses of the former existence of many, sometimes fairly old, manuscripts, for originally this collection must have been substantially larger and richer. This is not only proved by these fragments, but also by those manuscripts which have found their way from Vat Lai Hin into other libraries under unknown circumstances. Some are with the Siam Society, Bangkok<sup>3</sup>, and at least one is today in the National Library, Bangkok: no. 303/5, n<sup>o</sup> 129, ja 82/5: Samantapāsādikā, fasc. 5, which is one of the missing fascicles of Siam Society no. 54, as proved by identical measures and identical colophons. Otherwise the holdings of older northern Pāli manuscripts in the National Library are negligible as

<sup>1</sup> Manuscripts are quoted either in referring to the forthcoming catalogue: Die Pāli Handschriften des Klosters Lai Hin bei Lampang/Thailand" or to the microfilms of the "Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project" (PNTMP). – The letter # is used for the "o aig".

<sup>2</sup> O. v.Hinüber: On some colophons of old Lānā Pāli manuscripts, in: Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Thai Studies. 11-13th May 1990. Kunming 1990, Vol. IV, p.56-77.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O. v.Hinüber: The Pāli manuscripts kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok. A Short Catalogue. JSS 75.1987, p.9-74.

far as the catalogue is to be trusted. Furthermore, some of the manuscripts formerly preserved at the National Museum, Chiang Mai, and now transferred partly to the National Archives, partly to the National Library, both in Chiang Mai, seem to have belonged to Vat Lai Hin once.

Equally obscure are the reasons for the dispersion of part of this collection are the time and the circumstances under which it was brought together in this rather unassuming, though old, monastery. Hardly anything is known about its history. Fortunately, there is an inscription on one of the beams supporting the roof of the *vihāra*, which gives the year CS 1045 : A.D. 1683 as the date of the construction or reconstruction of this building. Furthermore, the person who directed the (re-)construction is mentioned by name. For the *mūla-pradhān* "initiator" (?) was Mahā Kesārapañña Cau together with his *śiṣyānuśiṣya*.

The name Kesārapañña is well known also from the colophons of 11 manuscripts preserved at Vat Lai Hin which have been copied or donated by Bra Mahā Kesārapañña Selāraññavāsī Bhikkhu between CS 1052 : A.D. 1690 and CS 1083 : A.D. 1721. As Kesārapañña is a *selāraññavāsī* "resident of the Stone Forest (Monastery)", which is the Pāli name for Vat Lai Hin<sup>4</sup>, there is hardly any room for doubt that he is the person mentioned in the inscription, while a Cau Khanān ("former monk") Kesāra of CS 1026 : A.D. 1674, and a Kesārapañña mentioned in the colophon of no. 69: Jātaka (Ekanipāta), about A.D. 1500 are obviously different people.

<sup>4</sup> The names *selārañña*, *selāraññapabbata* and *vaṣ hlāy hriṇ meṭṭh naḥor jāy* occur side by side in different colophons of no. 16: Vinaya-piṭaka (Cullavagga), CS 1117 : A.D. 1755.

Kesārapañña seems to have been a keen student of Buddhist texts, though not necessarily in Pāli, for all the 11 manuscripts copied or sponsored by him are *vohāra*, "explicative translations".<sup>5</sup> Therefore it is tempting to think of him as the collector of the older Pāli manuscripts dating from the late 15th to the early 17th centuries. However that may be, during Kesārapañña's time Vat Lai Hin seems to have enjoyed a certain reputation for the manuscripts it possessed. For a certain Nārada Bhikkhu, who copied a *vohāra* on the Buddha-apadāna (Ap 1,7-6,16) in CS 1077 : A.D. 1715, that is during Kesārapañña's later years, explicitly states that he did so while residing at Vat Lai Hin: *meṭṭh yū vaṣ pā<sup>1</sup> lāy hriṇ*, PNTMP 02-020-01. Today this manuscript is in the possession of Vat Kittivong at Mae Hong Son. Otherwise only manuscripts dated from the late 18th century, which belonged to Vat Hai Lin originally, survive.

Kesārapañña's career can be followed for 38 years between A.D. 1683 and A.D. 1721. This is not unlikely. Already in the earliest document Kesārapañña has a rather high status as evinced by the fact that he is surrounded by his "pupils and pupils of his pupils". Consequently, he could have been between 35 and 40 years old in A.D. 1683, when the *vihāra* was (re-)constructed, and he could have been a fully ordained monk for 15 to 20 years, assuming that he entered monkhood at the earliest possible age permitted by the Vinaya, which is 15 years for the lower ordination (*pabbajjā* : *na ... ūnapannarasavasso dārako pabbājetabbo*, Vin I 79,5) and 20 years for the higher ordination (*upasampadā* : *na ... ūnavisativasso puggalo upasampādetabbo*, Vin I 78,30) calculated from the time of conception (*gabbhaviṣaṇ*, Vin I 93,23). If Kesārapañña died not too long after completing his last manuscript in A.D. 1721, he could have been about 80 years old then.

<sup>5</sup> On this terminology cf. O.v.Hinüber: A Handbook of Pāli Literature. Berlin 1996 §203.

Thus his lifetime spans approximately between A.D. 1645 and A.D. 1725.

His age is by no means unlikely. A monk named Seen Føer or simply Føer says: "The Aṭṭhakaṇḍa has been copied by the Venerable Mahāsaddhā Føer when he was 80 years old in the year *kā plau* CS 975 : A.D. 1613", and in a second, somewhat confused, colophon: "The Venerable Saddhā Føn was 80 years old when he had entered the age (!) into the order for 9 years, he wrote with effort ... this text", no. 132: Dhammasaṅgani-aṭṭhakaṇḍa-pariccheda-vohāra, CS 975 : A.D. 1613<sup>6</sup>. A further rather unusual colophon informs us about the personal life of Seen Føer. The language is an attempt to write Pāli: *brah mahāsaddhā seen føer lagana* (read: *nagara*?) *jayapura rājadhānam* (!) *vaṭṭakāñcanarājassa mahāmacca gihikāle gharāvāse dosaṃ passivā nikkhama pabbajī ratanabimbārāme vase jinasāsane navavasse asitāyukāle likhitāyaṃ dhammasaṅganiatṭhakaṇḍaparicchedaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ samata* (!) "The Venerable Mahāsaddhā Føer from the town Jayapura (Lampang), where a king resides, was, while he was living as a householder and as a minister of King Vaṭṭakāñcana. Having considered the state of a householder as a fault, he went forth to become a monk in the Ratanabimbārāma. This has been written after he had lived in the Buddhist order for 9 years and when he had reached the age of 80<sup>7</sup>. The Dhammasaṅganiatṭhakaṇḍapariccheda has come to an end".

Again, this colophon seems to contain a mistake: *lagana* for *nagara*, and much more unfortunately, the pagination of this manuscript is confused. Of course this may be due to the advanced age of the scribe,

<sup>6</sup> Aṭṭha(kathā)kaṇḍa is the alternative title for the Atthuddhārakaṇḍa, Dhs § 1368-1599, cf. v.Hinüber: Handbook as note 5 above §134.

<sup>7</sup> This kind of information is rare, cf.: *sārah dādā sī sāv vai meia dai 6 vassā*, no. 68: Jātaka (Ekanipāta), CS 989 : A.D. 1767: "Sāradassī has made (this manuscript) when he was (monk) for 6 years".

but still the faulty pagination creates serious problems now for finding the beginning of the text at once.

Usually, however, these palm leaf manuscripts are paginated with the utmost care. Figures are used rarely although they do also occur in older manuscripts such as no. 86: Jātaka(Vīsatinipāta), first half of the 16th century, folios 20-34.

The usual procedure, however, is to apply letters in the following well known way: *ka, kā, ki ... ke, kai, ko, kau, kam, kah* written on the verso of each folio. This series, which is not entirely based on the Sanskrit alphabet as there are neither *kr* nor *ḥ*, covers a set of 12 folios or 24 pages. Occasionally such a set is called *avkā*, written phonetically for *aṅga*<sup>8</sup>, in Northern Thai Pāli manuscripts. Two such sets, e.g. *ka* and *kha* form one fascicle or *phūk*. It is common to start from the *phūk* containing *ka* and *kha* and to continue up to fascicle 16: *ha, ja*. Sometimes a series *a, ā, i, ī, e*, etc. is used following *ha* and *ja* as in no. 110: Suttasaṅgaha (*sūd rom*), CS 903/4 : A.D. 1541/2. Of course there are much longer manuscripts comprising more than 16 fascicles. Therefore this series needs extending, which is achieved by a combination of two letters: the second set of again 16 fascicles starts with *kya, khya, ... hya, hya*, the last fascicle being no. 32, which, however, is by no means sufficient as the upper limit for a very long text such as the commentary on the Mūlapaṇṇāsa of the Majjhimanikāya, which covers 725 pages in two volumes of the PTS edition. This equals 37 fascicles in no. 32: Pāpañcāsudāni (Mūlapaṇṇāsa), CS 911 : A.D. 1549. As the last fascicle, no. 37, contains the folios *jha-jhaḥ, ṅa-ṅaḥ*, in fasc. 33 the pagination starts again from the very beginning, although it would have been possible to use a third series (see below).

<sup>8</sup> This division is also used in Burma: H. Bechert et alii: Burmese Manuscripts. Wiesbaden 1979. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XXIII, 1, p.XVII.

Manuscripts of this length are rare, and if they survive they are almost never complete. Consequently, the possibility of tracing a confusion such as the following one is a rare exception: no. 101: Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā, CS 899 : A.D. 1537: first fascicle extant: fasc. 16: *na, pa* (correctly: *ha, la*) ... fasc. 22: *la, kya*, fasc. 23: *khya, gya*(!), fasc. 24: *ka, kha*(!) ... fasc. 33: *dha, na-nū*. Still, order prevails over confusion as e.g. in no. 61: Paramatthajōtikā II (commentary on the Suttanipāta), early 16th century: first fascicle extant: fasc. 13: *ma, ya* ... fasc. 16: *ha, la*(!), fasc. 17: *kya, khya* ... fasc. 27: *pya, phyā, bya-byū* (end of the text). Here, the last fascicle has been extended to almost twice the normal length. This is done fairly often if the last fascicle would have been incomplete otherwise, e.g. no. 118: Yamaka, CS 859 : A.D. 1497, fasc. 21: *jhya, űya, űya-űyai* (end of the text).

A method of avoiding a long series of letters and at the same time the danger of confusion is either to split up texts into sections or chapters such as the Aṅguttaranikāya into Eka-, Duka-, Tika-nipāta etc., which results in handy sequences, or to divide a long text somewhat arbitrarily in the middle. Thus two, very rarely three, bundles (*maḍ*) are created.<sup>9</sup> The Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā is such a text split up between the Arahanta- and the Sahassavagga (Dhp-a II 201/202), which is roughly the middle of the text: E\* 642 : 723 pages, C\* (1898) pages 1-315 : 315-659 that is 315 : 344 pages.<sup>10</sup> Therefore fascicle 3: *na, ca* of no. 53: Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, about A.D. 1500, contains part of the Daṇḍavagga. It is called in the colophon: 3 *dhammapada maḍ plāy* "fascicle 3 of the last bundle of the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā". Consequently, the first lost fascicle started with the pagination *ka, kha* and contained the beginning of the Sahassavattthu.

<sup>9</sup> H. Hundius: The colophons of thirty Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand, JPTS 14, 1990, p.54.

<sup>10</sup> The middle of the text is easily recognizable in C\*, which is printed without notes. Consequently the single pages contain a text of almost even length.

A second manuscript of this text reaches the end of the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā on folio *bhra* of fascicle 35: no. 56 Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, about A.D. 1500. The relevant colophon has: *dhammapada maḍ plāy* ... 34 ... with an obviously confused and erroneous pagination: the series *nra, dhra* has been corrected to *pra* (only *nra > pra*), which still does not seem to be correct. For fascicle 34 should have *gra, ghra* or *kra, khra*. Again, the few surviving folios do not allow any further conclusion.

The use of *pra* etc. besides *pya* etc. is certainly very rare and shared only by a second fragment, which could even be part of no. 56: Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā that is no. 55: Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, early 16th century, fasc. 21: *thra, dra* which is the third set of pagination.<sup>11</sup>

A really unique form of pagination is found in no. 6: Vinayapiṭaka (Pācittiya/Nissaggiya), CS 1073 : A.D. 1711, where the sequence is: ... fasc. 14(!): *va, ṣa, sa*, fasc. 15: *sa, ha*, fasc. 16: *la, a*, fasc. 17: *kya, khya* etc.. The retroflex *ṣa* is never again found in any of the Pāli manuscripts of Vat Lai Hin.

Equally unique is the pagination of the last folio of as fascicle as *caḥ*<sup>2</sup> with a raised figure in no. 85: Jātaka(Pakinnaka), CS 932 : A.D. 1571, fasc. 3: *na, ca-caḥ, caḥ*. The reason for this unusual pagination is not clear. The text breaks off in the middle of a word to be continued in the next and last fasc. 4: *ja*(!), *jha-jho*. Perhaps the scribe tried to reproduce fasc. 3 of the original he had before him as one fascicle, but miscalculated his handwriting.

In contrast to single folios, whole fascicles are usually numbered in figures. Only very occasionally do figures and letters stand

<sup>11</sup> On the *kra* series see H. Bechert as note 8 above.

side by side: no. 34: Saṃyuttanikāya (Sagāthavagga), CS 911 : A.D. 1549: 3. *ki. na ca* ("fascicle 3 = *ki*, (folios) *na*, *ca*") and again in this set, which also comprises the commentary: no. 36: Sāratthapakāsinī (Sagāthavagga), CS 911 : A.D. 1549; similarly: no. 81: Jātaka (Aṭṭha-, Cattāḷisa-, Paṇṇāsa-, Saṭṭhi-, Sattati-nipāta), CS 912 : A.D. 1550, no. 117: Yamaka, CS 909 : A.D. 1547, and no. 110: Suttasaṅgha (*sūḍ rōm*), CS 903/4 : A.D. 1541/2. All these manuscripts have been written by Javanapaṇḍita, the most prominent scribe of 16th century manuscripts in the Lai Hin collection. Therefore, this particular way of numbering fascicles may be a personal feature.

After having devoted so much attention to the outward appearance of these palm leaf manuscripts, the question arises whether it is really worthwhile to describe these minor details. The usefulness of this knowledge, pedestrian as it may seem or even be, is obvious to anyone engaged in working on these manuscripts and on fragmentary ones in particular. For a clear pagination is extremely helpful when it comes to reassembling scattered fascicles or single folios once the string holding them together, the "book binding" as it is, has been broken or lost, which is more often the case than not. In this respect the beautiful golden pattern painted on the mostly red, rarely black, lacquer with which the manuscripts are coated is also helpful. This, however, applies to younger manuscripts only, for older ones are coated in plain red lacquer. I once found a manuscript that had never been opened after the lacquer had been applied some 400 years ago: no. 64: Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā, 16th century, was "uncut" when it was read for the first time ever on 28th July 1987.

Furthermore, as we all know from daily use, pagination is necessary to organize a book, and no reader would like to do without it. For only pagination makes a table of contents possible, which is by no means so commonplace as a modern reader might be inclined to think.

In older manuscripts tables of contents are very rare. They are found e.g. in: no. 35: Saṃyuttanikāya (Sagāthavagga), CS 905 : A.D. 1543 on the cover leaf: *naḷavagga paṭhama sin mee ki* "the first chapter called Naḷavagga ends on folio *ki*".<sup>12</sup> It is still more astonishing that the verses of the Sagāthavagga are counted and grouped together in sets of eight verses each in this well organized manuscript.

These attempts, or rather the very beginnings of organizing books, deserve some discussion in a much broader context. For, simple and trivial as it may seem, it is by no means a small step forward when it comes to handling, transmitting and acquiring knowledge, as the relevant material from mediaeval Europe, which has been discussed with most interesting results by W. Raible<sup>13</sup>, amply demonstrates. A corresponding study of the manuscript tradition in Indian culture or in cultures influenced by India would certainly be rewarding.

While not too much attention was paid to the organization of the text itself, the scribes were consistent in keeping certain rules concerning the beginning or end of the text. These rules underline the religious significance of the manuscripts. It is well known that a canonical Pāli text or a commentary should start with the formula *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*, abbreviated sometimes as *namo tass' atthu* or simply *nam' atthu*. This seems to be a typical Theravāda formula, if Buddhist Sanskrit texts are compared, which begin

<sup>12</sup> Further tables of contents are found in: no. 87: Jātaka (Viṣati-, Tiṃsa-, Sattati-nipāta), CS 833 : A.D. 1471, which is the oldest dated Pāli manuscript; no. 69: Jātaka (Ekanipāta), about A.D. 1500; no. 76: Jātaka (Pañca-, Chakka-nipāta), CS 954 : A.D. 1592, cf. no. 94: Jātaka (Mahānipāta: Nārada), CS 938 : A.D. 1576.

<sup>13</sup> W. Raible: Die Semiotik der Textgestalt, and: Zur Entwicklung von Alphabetschrift-Systemen. In: *Is fecit cui prodest*, both: Heidelberg 1991: Abhandlungen/Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Abhandlung/Bericht 1.

with: *namaḥ sarvabuddhabodhisatvebhyāḥ*<sup>14</sup>, *namo bhagavatyaiprajñāpāramitāyāi* (Prajñāpāramitā texts), *namaḥ śrī vajrasatvāya* (Guhya-samājatantra), *namas sarvajñāya*<sup>15</sup>, etc.

However, even in Theravāda the beginning of a sacred text is not as uniform as printed editions both oriental and western have it.<sup>16</sup> The *namo tassa* ... is preceded by *subham athu svasdī jayatu antarāyaṃ namo tassa* ..., no. 34: Samyuttanikāya (Sagāthavagga), CS 911 : A.D. 1549 "may it be auspicious! hail! may there be victory over danger (?)". The commentary to this text has: *svasdī jeyya mahālābho. karuṇā*<sup>17</sup>, no.36: Sārattapakāsinī (Sagāthavagga), CS 911 : A.D. 1549 "hail! victory! great gain!". This set has been copied by Javanapañña at Dā Sēy, who also wrote no. 90: Jātaka (Kusarāja), CS 913 : A.D. 1551 beginning: *1. svasdī. jayatu antarāyaṃ. idan te ...* "(fascicle) I. hail! may there be victory over danger(?)".<sup>17</sup>

A further manuscript also copied at Dā Sēy begins: *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. jayatu sugatasāsanam* and ends: ... *samattā ti. 4. svasti namo buddhāya jayatu sugatasāsanam*,

<sup>14</sup> A probably unique opening formula is: *namaḥ sarvabhāḥya. purbbācāryebhyo ...*, Adhikamāsvinihiyā, CS 940 : A.D. 1578, cf.: Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Texts on Microfilm at the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai 1986, 06-108.

<sup>15</sup> This is found in a Sanskrit text from 9th century Ceylon: O. v. Hinüber: Sieben Goldblätter einer Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā aus Anurādhapura. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1983, Nr. 7, p.193/7.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also the unusual beginning of the Peṭakopadesa; O. v. Hinüber as above note 5 § 167.

<sup>17</sup> *svasti* is also used at the beginning of Buddhist texts in Ceylonese manuscripts, though written at the left margin next to the pagination *ka*: C.E. Godakumbura: Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts. Copenhagen 1980. Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs etc. in Danish Collections. Vol. I, p.L, and O. v. Hinüber as above note 15.

no. 40: Aṅguttaranikāya (Dukanipāta), first half of the 16th century, similarly: *namo tass' athu. jayatu jinasāsanam. manorath*<sup>18</sup>, Siam Society no. 55: Manorathapūraṇi (Ekanipāta), CS 893 : A.D. 1531 copied at Dā Sēy. No formula at all is found at the beginning of Lai Hin no. 42: Aṅguttaranikāya (Sattakanipāta), CS 949 : A.D. 1587, which ends: ... *samattā. jayatu sugatasāsanam. svasti. namo buddhāya*. This manuscript has been copied at Chiang Mai. Two parts of the commentary, which belongs to this set, begin: *svasti namo buddhāya. jayatu sugatasāsanam*, no. 46: Manorathapūraṇi (Chakkanipāta), CS 949 : A.D. 1587, Chiang Mai; no. 48: Manorathapūraṇi (Sattakanipāta), CS 949 : A.D. 1587, Chiang Mai.<sup>18</sup> And finally, a further manuscript copied at Dā Sēy begins: *svasdī. namo buddhāya. jayatu sugatasāsanam. dukaniṭṭhā*<sup>19</sup>, no. 44: Manorathapūraṇi (Dukanipāta), first half of the 16th century, cf. the end of the colophons in no. 31: Papañcasūdanī (Mūlapaṇṇāsa), CS 895 : A.D. 1533 from Meiy: fasc. 17: *jayatu sāsanam*, fasc. 18: *svasti bahavatu and svastī hotu*.

Only two manuscripts begin simply with: *namo buddhāya*, no. 9: Vinaya (Mahāvagga), CS 1116 : A.D. 1754 from Lampang, and no. 88: Jātaka (Tīṃsanipāta), about A.D. 1500: *svasti namo buddhāya. tīṃsanipāte ...*

The opening formula *namo buddhāya. pañca buddhā namāṃ' ahaṃ*, no. 19: Samantapāsādikā (Cullavagga), CS 950 : A.D. 1588, and correspondingly no. 125: Thūpavamsa, CS 1084 : A.D. 1722 is rather surprising at first sight. For, as is well known, the number of Buddhas current in Theravāda is the six predecessors of Buddha Gotama as enumerated in the Dighanikāya, no. XIV. Mahāpadānasuttanta, DN II 1-54 and in addition the Buddha Gotama himself: *namo bhagavato namo sattannaṃ sambuddhānaṃ*, Vin II 110,19 = AN II 73,9, quoted Ja II

<sup>18</sup> The first folio is only on the microfilm of the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, no. 145.17.

147,24, or Buddha Gotama and his 24 predecessors as described in the Buddhavaṃsa, where the list has been extended by three names in chapter XXVII, which is a later addition as already noticed in the commentary (Bv-a 295,31). This set of 28 Buddhas became popular in South-East Asia.

Five Buddhas, on the other hand, do not figure prominently in Pāli texts, although there seems to be some archaeological evidence for this group from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in South India.<sup>19</sup> This group, which is totally different from the better known five Buddhas in Mahāyāna: Vairocana (centre), Akṣobhya (east), Ratnasambhava (south), Amitābha (west), Amoghasiddhi (north)<sup>20</sup>, comprises the five Buddhas of the present *bhaddakappa*: Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa, Gotama: DN III 2,21-28 together with Metteyya, DN III 76,25foll. mentioned in the Cakkavattisihanādasuttanta, Dighanikāya no. XXVI. Thus the colophons also preserve some traces of this set of five Buddhas.

In addition to this there is an extremely short text comprising only a single folio, which mentions these Buddhas by name: *namo jeyyāhū iṅ pi so bhagavā buddha Kukkasindho ... Konāghamano ... Kassapo ... siri Sakyamunī Goḍaṅ siri ariyāh Maṭṭī*, Siam Society no. 52.

Only two Buddhas are mentioned by name in the colophons. They are, of course, Gotama and Metteyya, who are conspicuous in the wishes expressed by the scribes at the end of their manuscripts after finishing their work.

<sup>19</sup> M. Bénisti: Les stūpas aus cinq piliers. BEFEO 58.1971, p.131-162, cf.: G. Terral: Pañcabuddhabhyākaraṇa. BEFEO 55.1969, p.125-144.

<sup>20</sup> Höbögirin s.v. *butsu*.

Mostly, and particularly so in the older manuscripts, the wishes expressed by the scribes are of a rather general nature. As is well known, Buddhists are and always were concerned about the eventual disappearance of the *sāsana*. In a famous passage in the Cullavagga, Vin II 256,9-16 the Buddha is supposed to have said that the *dhamma* might last for a whole millennium, but, once women were admitted to the order, that period would be reduced to 500 years. About 500 years after the supposed date of the *nirvāṇa*, at the latest, this period was extended ultimately to 5000 years.<sup>21</sup> Being aware of the fact that they contribute by their work to the subsistence of the *dhamma* the scribes express their respective wishes in very few words in the older colophons: *sān vai pen mūlasnā brah buddha cau hā ban vassā*, no. 61: Paramatthajotikā II (Commentary on the Suttanipāta), early 16th century. There are slight variations such as the use of *pā* instead of *vassā*, no. 102: Buddhavaṃsa, CS 913 : A.D. 1551, *brah gotama cau and pā*, no. 54: Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, CS 883 : A.D. 1521, or *bija sāsna* instead of *mūlasāsna*, no. 68: Jātaka (Ekanipāta), CS 989 : A.D. 1627, fasc. 15: "I have made (this manuscript) as a root/germ for the teaching of the Exalted Buddha (that it may last) five thousand years". This formula appears in six manuscripts of the Lai Hin collection and in slightly different wording in a seventh: *sān ḍvay tan vai buddhasāsna hā ban vassā*, no. 111: Paṭhamasambodhi, CS 936 : A.D. 1574 "I have made (this manuscript) myself for the teaching of the Buddha (that it may last) five thousand years". Furthermore, the following colophon from the collection of Vat Sung Men at Phrae may be quoted here: *athakathā uparipañāsa mahā-saṅgharāja cau āram vaṅ pan<sup>2</sup> sān upathambhaka sāsna brah buddha cau hā ban vassā. culasakkarāja ḍai 912*, PNTMP 01-04-231-00: Papañcasūdanī (Uparipañāsa), CS 912 : A.D. 1550 "Commentary on the Uparipañāsa (of the Majjhimanikāya). The Venerable Saṅgharāja of

<sup>21</sup> E. Lamotte: Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien. Louvain 1958, p.210foll.; 215foll.; Samantapāsādikā 1291,18-26. – Further: J. Nattier: Once Upon a Future Time. Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline. Berkeley 1991.



the Van-Pan-Monastery had (this manuscript) made to support the teaching of the Exalted Buddha (that it may last) five thousand years. CS 912".

In the second half of the 16th century this extreme brevity was abandoned in favour of a marginally enlarged version: *vai pen mūla sāsānā bra gotama cau taṃ dau hā ban vassā*, no. 58: Itivuttakattāhakatthā, CS 906 : A.D. 1544 "I (made this manuscript) as a root for the teaching of the Exalted Gotama that it may last five thousand years". This wording survives in altogether seven manuscripts copied between A.D. 1544 and A.D. 1592, and more than a century later very much abbreviated as: *taṃ dau 5 ban vassā*, no. 97: Jātaka (Vessantara/Māleyya), CS 1076 : A.D. 1714, cf. also: *sān vai kap vara buddhasāsānā taṃ dau 5000 vassā lee*, PNTMP 07-04-005-00: Dhammasaṅgaṇī, CS 991 : A.D. 1629 from Vat Phra Singh at Chiang Mai.

During the early 17th century the formula was further enlarged: *sān vai pen upatthambhaka sāsānā brah cau rāp 5000 vassā*, no. 113: Sammohavinodanī (Commentary on the Vibhaṅga), about 1600 "I made (this manuscript) to support the teaching of the Exalted One so that it may reach 5000 years", cf. the earlier, similar colophon of the Papañcasūdanī quoted above, and: *sān vai kap sāsānā bra buddha cau rāp 5000 vassā*, no. 20: Samantapāsādikā, CS 1001 : A.D. 1639, or: *vai beṭṭa prāyojnaḥ pen mūla kee sāsānā bra buddha cau rau taṃ dau theiṃ 5000 bra vassā*, no. 50: Dhammapada, CS 973 : A.D. 1611: "I have deposited (this manuscript) for the use as a root of the teaching of our Exalted Buddha that it may reach eventually 5000 years". Here it is tempting to think of *prāyojnaḥ* as an abbreviation, if the following colophon is compared: *sān vai pen mūla sāsānā bra gotama cau hā ban vassā beṭṭa cāk hū pen prāyojnaḥ kee kulapud dan lāy*, no. 74: Jātaka (Duka-, Tika-, Pañca-nipāta), CS 922/3 : A.D. 1560/1 "I made (this manuscript) as a root for

the teaching of the Exalted Gotama (that it may last) five thousand years, for the use to many sons from good families".

By the end of the 17th century the scribes seem to have preferred still another wording: *beṭṭa jotaḥ sāsānā hā ban vassā*, no. 5: Vinayapitaka (Pārājika), CS 1055 : A.D. 1693 "that the teaching may shine for five thousand years". This formula occurs four times between 1693 and 1754, and once even earlier during the 16th century: no. 117: Gūlhatthadipani.<sup>22</sup>

Thus it seems that the preference for certain expressions changed in the course of time. It should be kept in mind, however, that the material is rather limited, and consequently does not allow any certain conclusions based on statistics. Furthermore, regional variation cannot be excluded. The latter seems to apply for: *sān vai beṭṭa sāsānā cirathitakāla hā<sup>3</sup> ban vassā*, no. 45: Manorathapūraṇī (Tikanipāta), CS 949 : A.D. 1587 "I made (this manuscript) for a long duration of the teaching for five thousand years", and: *sān vai sāsānupatthāmbhaka cirathitakāle*, no. 49: Manorathapūraṇī-ṭīkā (Tikanipāta), CS 948 : A.D. 1586. Both manuscripts have been donated by the same person, perhaps at Chiang Mai, for the following set, in which a similar formula has been used, was copied there: *beṭṭa sāsānā cirathitakāle*, no. 41: Aṅguttaranikāya (Chakkanipāta), CS 949 : A.D. 1587, Chiang Mai, fasc. 7, together with: *beṭṭa sāsānā ṭhītikāle*, no. 46: Manorathapūraṇī (Chakkanipāta) CS 949 : A.D. 1587, Chiang Mai. Again, this set was donated by one person. As all four manuscripts have been copied almost at the same time and as all of them use the same formula not traced in other manuscripts so far, this might have been a wording typical for Chiang Mai at that period.

<sup>22</sup> This is a commentary on the Sammohavinodanī, cf. CPD (Epilegomena) 3.9.3 and 1.3.6.4.

In addition to these general remarks, personal wishes are seldom expressed in the older manuscripts, but with increasing frequency in newer ones. Donors and scribes alike wish to be reborn during the time of the future Buddha Metteyya. A rather early instance of this particular wish is: *nibbānapaccayo hotu me cūṇ pen praṇcaiyāḥ kee ehibhikkhu nai sāmnaḥ brah̄ ariyāḥ metteyyāḥ tan an cak mā pen brah̄ buddha bāy hnā nī*, no. 99: Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā, CS 899 : A.D. 1537 "may this be the basis for the *nibbāna* for me that it is the foundation for the *ehibhikkhu* (-*upasampādā*) in the assembly of the Exalted Noble Metteyya, who will come to be Buddha in future". The ordination by *ehi bhikkhu* "come, monk" can be gained only from a Buddha. Therefore it was considered a very special distinction, so much so that it is believed that a monk's robe (*cīvara*) would appear magically on a monk ordained in this particular way, a *ehibhikkhucīvara*.<sup>23</sup>

It is only by the year A.D. 1700 that this wish becomes more frequent: *khəm hū han hnā bra siriya* (read: *siri ariya*) *mettaiy cau an cak mā ḍām raḍ traś sabbāññu cak mā bāy hnā nī*, no. 5: Vinayaṭṭhaka (Pārājika), CS 1055 : A.D. 1693 "I pray to see the face of the Noble Metteyya, who will come to reach enlightenment and omniscience in future". During the 18th century wordings such as the following become popular: *beṭṭe prajoyṇaḥ causaccapāṭivedha praṇcaiy nai sāmnaḥ bra mettaiy cau cak mā brāy hnā*, no. 6: Vinayaṭṭhaka (Pārājika), CS 1073 : A.D. 1711, fasc. 8 "useful as a foundation to penetrate the four (noble) truths in the assembly of the Exalted Metteyya, who will come in future". This wording occurs six times altogether between A.D. 1693 and A.D. 1849, and with some changes in wording in three further manuscripts:

<sup>23</sup> Cf. CPD s.v. – The wish for an *ehibhikkhuupasampādā* occurs again in the Pāli colophon to no. 99: Sivijayapañhā, CS 1201 : A.D. 1839: ...*anāgataḥ ārahantā rābhēyāṃ ariyāḥ metteyyabuddhasantike ehibhikkhupaccaya-bhavāyaṃ paccayo hotu sansāle sansaranto...* This again is a rather unsuccessful attempt to write in Pāli.

*prāthnā au yān bhavāḥkyaḥ* (read: *bhavakkhaya*) *nai sāmnaḥ bra metteyya cau*, no. 1: Pātimokkhasutta, CS 1123 : A.D. 1761 "my wish is the extinction of rebirth in the assembly of the Exalted Metteyya", and again in no. 7: Vinayaṭṭhaka (Pācittiya), CS 1088 : A.D. 1716, fasc. 8. In fasc. 3 of the same manuscript a different scribe remarks: *prāthnā au yān bhava nai ...* "my wish is the rebirth in ...", which is almost certainly a mistake for *bhavakkhaya*. For this scribe is also a bit careless in his wishes elsewhere when he writes in fasc. 7: *gām prāthānā kho hū khā ḍai rū dhamma ḍvay hmūr ban khan* "my wish is that I come to know the *dhamma* in its 11,000 sections". This is hardly modesty on the part of the scribe, who rather left out the figures 8 (*Amūr*) and 4 (*ban*): it is well known that the *dhamma* has 84,000 sections (*khandā*, Sumaṅgalavilāsini 24,18 etc.).

Only once and at an early date is the wish of penetrating knowledge disconnected from the four noble truths and the wish to be reborn in Metteyya's presence: *sān vai kap buddhasāsnā pañcasahassāyuka saddhādhika sabbāññutaññ paṭivedhapaccayo hotu*, no. 64: Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā, 16th century (?) "made for the teaching of the Buddha (that it may reach) the age of 5000 years, may it be the foundation for deep faith and for penetrating into the knowledge of omniscience".

If *sabbāññutañña* is to be taken in its true meaning, this wish, of course, implies that the scribe wants to become a Buddha in future. This desire is rarely expressed in clear and unambiguous words as in the following colophon of a manuscript copied in Central Thailand and written in Khmer script: *suvaṇṇarājena bhikkhunā sabbāññubuddha-bhāvapaṭthentena imaṃ likhāpitaṃ vipulasaddhāya*, National Library, Bangkok, no. 6290 (126-5/6): Dasajāṭaka (=Jāṭaka: Mahānipāta), BS 2203 : A.D. 1660 "the monk Suvaṇṇarāja, who wishes to attain the state of an omniscient Buddha, had this written in deep faith". Otherwise this

seems to be a wish of authors rather than scribes, e.g.: *ahaṃ tu uttamaṃ bodhiṃ, pāpūneyyānānāgate / taṃ pavā akhile satte, moceyyāṃ bhavabandhanā*, PNTMP 02-04-179-00: Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī, CS 950 : A.D. 1588. Here, the author Nānakitti (15th century) is speaking, and not the scribe of this manuscript, which is kept at Vat Sung Men in Phrae today.

Equally rare is the wish to become an Arahant: *hū pen praccai taṃ dau arahattamagga*, no. 74: Jātaka (Tikanipāta), CS 922 : A.D. 1560, fasc. 5 "that it may be the basis for the route towards Arahantship".

The scribe of no. 16: Vinaya (Cullavagga), CS 1117 : A.D. 1755 wants to display his erudition by replacing *paṭivedha*: *beṭṭa prayojnaḥ causaccapaṭisambhidāñña pracai nai sāmnaḥ bra metteyya cau*, fasc. 8. However, the common expression found already in canonical Pāli (Paṭisambhidāmagga II 57,3) is *saccapaṭivedha*, whereas *paṭisambhidā* is not normally used in this connection, with the exception of ... *paṭisambhidāhi arahattam pāpuṇi. saha saccapaṭivedhena ...*, Mil 18,18.

Nevertheless, the wish for *paṭisambhidā* in the presence of the future Buddha seems to make more sense than the one for *paṭivedha*. For the latter can be gained any time during the 5000 years of the duration of the *dhamma*, while *paṭisambhidā* is possible only during the first thousand years after a Buddha has re-established the teaching, and consequently the next opportunity will be at the time of Metteyya.<sup>24</sup>

Individual wishes are also presented in a more personal form e.g. if a scribe says: *tan dai au bai ryan kḍi kḍiyan kḍi lau kḍi au bai fan*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. E. Lamotte: *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahā-prajñāpāramitāśāstra)*. Louvain 1970. Tome III, p.1614foll. and *Samantapāsādikā* 1291,19.

*kḍi hū pen phala kee khā hū sān*, no. 66: *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, CS 876 : A.D. 1514 "whenever somebody takes (this manuscript) with him to read it, to copy it, to recite it, or takes it with him to hear it (i.e. to have it read out to him?), then this will be merit for me, who has made (the manuscript)", and similarly: *daiy tan dai dai' ḍu kaḍi khūn cai kaḍi cūn pen pur kee khā dūn*, no. 109: *Paritta*, CS 1039 : A.D. 1677 "whoever wants to see (this manuscript) or learn it by heart, should do so, for it is certainly merit for me". By this ingenious wish the donor or scribe managed and still manages to accumulate merit even while these manuscripts are used for research.

In both cases it is by no means clear to whom the merit will ultimately go, to the donor or to the scribe, or to both of them. For, leaving aside the somewhat ambiguous *sān* "to produce"<sup>25</sup>, which can be employed by both, scribes and donors alike, the subject of the corresponding sentences is rarely expressed explicitly. Therefore the long colophons typical for Javanapañña, which have been discussed and translated by H. Hündius<sup>26</sup> state to whom exactly the merit of the donation is going to belong: *cūn hū dai lokiya lee lokuttarasampatti kee dāyak phū (hū) sān nan dūn. rau anumodanā ḍvay lee*, no. 36: *Sāratthapakāsinī (Sagātha-vagga)*, CS 911 : A.D. 1549 "that there may be success in the mundane and supramundane attainments for the donor, the person who had (this manuscript) made. We give our blessings". This makes it sufficiently clear that the merit will go to the *upāsikā* Gāṃ Bā, one of the rather numerous female donors of manuscripts.

<sup>25</sup> In the colophons to a manuscript of the *Mahājanakajātaka* in the National Library, Bangkok (No. 6290), copied in A.D. 1660 the verb *sān* has been used in the Thai colophons as an equivalent to *likhāpita* of the Pāli colophons of the same manuscript. Both colophon series have been written by the monk *Suvannaparāja*.

<sup>26</sup> H. Hündius as above note 9, p.70, no. 8.

At the same time it is obvious that more than one person is involved in the donation. This fact is still more evident in a second colophon from Javanapañña's hand: *mahāthera hvañ cau pen upatthambhaka gaṃ anumodaṇā dḥay lee cūñ hi pen pracaṇy kee lokiya lokuttarasampatti kee phū hū sāñ*, no. 119: Yamaka, CS 909 : A.D. 1547, fasc. 7 "the Venerable Mahāthera gives his blessings as the supporter that ...". The person who gives his blessings is called *upatthambhaka* "supporter". At the same time, he is not the scribe of this manuscript, for only the colophon, not the text itself, has been copied in Javanapañña's very characteristic hand. Thus altogether three people participated in donating this manuscript.

Occasionally quite a few people have contributed in one way or another to have a manuscript made. As many as twenty people are named or mentioned indirectly in no. 103: *Buddhavaṃsa-aññhakathā*, CS 913 : A.D. 1551. This number is quite exceptional, although sometimes an anonymous group of people, and possibly a large one, is mentioned: *nāk puñ dāñ hlāy jāñ meṇṇ mī mahāsāmi cau puññaraṃsī pen pradhāñ*, no. 29: *Majjhimanikāya* (*Mūlapañña*), CS 895 : A.D. 1533 "numerous inhabitants of Meṇṇ, who want to make merit, together with the Venerable Mahāsāvāmi Puññaraṃsī as a leader"<sup>27</sup>.

The *Buddhavaṃsa-aññhakathā* not only names all these many people who worked together but also, remarkably, describes their respective parts in the making of this manuscript. The Mahāthera Ratana is called *ādikammasādhaka* or *sabbādikammasādhaka*, and he is the only monk mentioned in these colophons. Lay people named are sometimes specified as *p(r)accayaḍḍiyaka*. This means that they have given the money necessary to write the manuscript, which consists of a set comprising the *Buddhavaṃsa* and its commentary, the

<sup>27</sup> On the title *mahāsāvāmi*: H. Pentz: Reflections on the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*. JSS 65.1.1977, p.264foll.

*Madhurathavāliśiñi*. The sum paid for the palm leaves was 8,000 *pé* and for copying the text 54,000 *pé*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, fasc. 1.<sup>28</sup> Interestingly, a (female?) ascetic named Yū gave some money too: *phā khāv yū*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, fasc. 7, which at the same time is an early reference to these ascetics wearing white clothes. The leading donor who is mentioned most frequently is: *upāsikā jū nāñ pā' gāñ* "the lay woman named Pā Gāñ". She is called *paccayaḍḍiyikā* and *upatthambhaka* "supporter". This means that the relevant terminology was neither fixed nor uniform. For when Javanapañña is called *upatthambhaka*, no. 57: *Itivuttaka*, CS 908 : A.D. 1546, fasc. 3, or: *then cau sur inda pen upatthambhaka*, no. 43: *Manorathapūraṇī* (*Ekanipāta*), CS 891(?) : A.D. 1529 or 1589(?), most likely both monks acted in the same way as did the Mahāthera Ratana, who is the *ādikammasādhaka*: both, Javanapañña and Ratana, gave their blessings (*anumodaṇa*). There even seems to be a third expression used in the same context: *silananda pāñ kvāñ kvañ hū sāñ therā anomadassī cau pen mūla lāñ bāñ*, no. 18: *Samantapāsādikā* (*Pārājika/ Saṃghādisesa*), about A.D. 1500 "Silananda from Pāñ Kvāv Kvañ had (this manuscript) made. The Thera Anomadassī was the *mūla*. In Lampang".

Only in the colophons of the *Buddhavaṃsa* manuscript, however, are the activities of the *ādikammasādhaka* briefly described: *jāk jar nāk pur dāñ hlāy*, no. 102: *Buddhavaṃsa*, CS 913 : A.D. 1551, fasc. 1 "he persuaded many people, who want to make merit", and: *mahāthen ratana dāi gā lāñ nāk puñ dāi deyyadhama cāñ khyan lee*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, fasc. 4 "the Mahāthera Ratana has received the sum (to be used for buying) palm leaves; those, who want to make merit, have donated (the sum to be used for) copying". Evidently Ratana urged lay people to provide the funds necessary to acquire the writing materials and

<sup>28</sup> On the prices of manuscripts: O. v. Hinüber as above note 2, p.72; cf. also M. A. Stein : A Sanskrit Deed of Sale concerning a Kashmirian Mahābhārata MS., JRAS 1900, p.187-194.

to pay for the scribes. Only one of these scribes has been honoured by mentioning his name: *8 pai ācān seen doṇ sāṇ ḍvay hatthakamma*, *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*, fasc. 19 "eight folios have been made by Ācārya Seen Doṇ by his own hand". This, of course, is an extremely modest contribution to a manuscript comprising eighteen and a half fascicles corresponding to 444 folios. Therefore it seems likely that Ācārya Seen Doṇ, who copied only the very last eight folios of this text, was some important person, perhaps not receiving any fee as the other scribes, but contributing either for sake of his own merit or to give special weight to this donation. All other scribes are passed over in silence.

Thus the *ādikammaśādhaka* or the *mūla* seem to have been both the initiator of the meritorious work and also perhaps some kind of spiritual advisor, who gave their blessing upon its completion. It would be interesting to know what exactly was going to happen once a manuscript was finished and ready to be deposited in a monastery. Some kind of ceremony is a likely guess. And it may have been only during this supposed ceremony that the colophons were added, for they are occasionally written in a hand clearly distinct from that of the copyist. In this respect no. 32: *Papañcasūdanī* (*Mūlapaññāsa*), CS 911 : A.D. 1549 is particularly instructive because the colophons in Javanapañña's hand have been added after the scribe had finished the Pāli text and had written the title on the cover leaf of fasc. 20. The long colophon has been written around the title of the text: "The Venerable Saṃgharāja and the Layman called Samudda and his wife called Kev Maṇi had (this manuscript) made in the year *kāḍ rāu* CS 911. Persons, who take (this manuscript) with them to use it and do not know the meaning or the wording (of the text) exactly, should not try to introduce changes or make additions, for that is not good. After having been used (this manuscript) should be brought back immediately, – commentary on the *Mūlapaññāsa* – for it was difficult, to make it. Therefore there should be success for me, who

had (this manuscript) made, in the mundane and supramundane attainments, and it should help people".

The length of this colophon occurring a couple of times with some variations in manuscripts connected with Javanapañña is rarely matched: "(This manuscript) has been made by the Venerable Ānanda as the leading initiator (*gau saddhā*) as a root for the teaching and as a fountain for attaining omniscience. Until that time I should not (be reborn) as deaf nor as blind nor as a sick person, but as somebody who knows the Tipiṭaka in every rebirth, who is reborn because of the three (meritorious) causes<sup>29</sup>, who is a wise and able person. I should not be reborn as a poor person, I do not want to be negligent in respect to the Exalted Buddha, the Exalted Teaching, the Exalted Order in future rebirths"; no. 98: *Sivijayapañña*, CS 947 : A.D. 1585.<sup>30</sup>

It would be interesting to know whether these long texts were perhaps recited when a manuscript was ceremoniously commissioned. However, from the colophons alone, only a very little can be guessed about the procedure for a donation. Perhaps some text such as the *ānisaṇ piṭak* contains some relevant information. This, however, is a topic extending far beyond the colophons.

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Note: This is the enlarged version of a paper read at the 5th International Conference on Thai Studies, London, on 7th July 1993.

<sup>29</sup> On *tīhetukapaññandhi* that is *alobha*, *adosa*, *amoha*: Paṭis II 72,18foll. with Paṭis-a III 571,4-8, cf. *Vism* 104,11 (with *Vism-mhṭ*), *As* 285,10, *Vibh-a* 162,23.

<sup>30</sup> This colophon has been discussed by H. Hundius as above note 9, p.133foll., where the date is given erroneously as CS 942 following a mistake made by the scribe.

## A Pāli Canonical Passage of Importance for the History of Indian Medicine

The *Brahmajāla*- and *Sāmaññaphala-suttas* of the *Dighanikāya* have the following almost identical passage on wrongful livelihood (*micchājīva*), based on "low (literally beastly) sciences"<sup>1</sup> (*tiracchānavijjā*), shunned by Buddha Gotama:

"Yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni  
bhojanāni bhujjivā te evarūpāya tiracchānavijjāya micchājīvena jīvikāṃ  
kappenti - seyyathidaṃ santikammaṃ pañidhikammaṃ  
bhūrikammaṃ vassakammaṃ vossakammaṃ vatthukammaṃ  
vatthuparikkiraṇaṃ ācamanaṃ nahāpanaṃ juhanaṃ vamaṇaṃ  
virecanaṃ uddhavirecanaṃ adhovirecanaṃ sisavirecanaṃ  
kaṇṇatelaṃ nettatappaṇaṃ natthukammaṃ añjanaṃ  
paccañjanaṃ sālākiyaṃ sallakattikaṃ dāraṅkatikicchā  
mūlabhesajjānaṃ anuppādānaṃ osadhīnaṃ paṭimokkha - itī  
vā itī evarūpāya tiracchānavijjāya micchājīvā paṭivirato Samaṇo  
Gotamo ti." Iti vā hi bhikkhave puthujjano Tathāgatassa vaṇṇaṃ  
vadamāno vadeyya.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. meaning of the Skt equivalent *vidyā* given in Monier-William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*: knowledge, science, learning, scholarship, philosophy... (according to some there are four Vidyās or sciences, 1. *trayī*, the triple Veda; 2. *ārvikshiki*, logic and metaphysics; 3. *daṇḍa-nīti*, the science of government; 4. *vārtā*, practical arts such as agriculture, commerce, medicine etc....)

<sup>2</sup> *DN*, Mahāsīla, i.1.27, cf. *Ibid.* ii.62; *DB*, pp.25-6; *CBP*, p.11. On the importance of the two suttas, see K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature including the canonical literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hinayāna schools of Buddhism*, Wiesbaden 1983, p.33.

In this passage, the words indicated in bold refer to medical practices dealt with in āyurvedic texts. These terms are discussed below from the philological point of view, and their significance for the history of Indian medicine is pointed out at the end. In this discussion, it will be noticed that data found in āyurvedic texts help in elucidating and clarifying the meanings of the terms involved, especially *santikamma*, *bhūrtkamma*, *ācamana*, *nahāpana*, *paccañjana*, *sālākiya*, *mūlabhesajja* and *osadhinaṃ paṭimokkho*. The translations given in the *Sv*, the *DB* and the *CBP* are quoted separately in each case for the sake of comparison. It will be seen that most of the interpretations of the *Sv* agree with the meanings in the āyurvedic texts and help clarify the meanings especially in the case of *mūlabhesajjanaṃ anuppādānaṃ* and *osadhinaṃ paṭimokkho*. Of the *DB* and the *CBP*, most of the latter's interpretations are more exact and precise than those of the former. Both texts seem to err especially with regard to the interpretation of *sālākiya*, *mūlabhesajjanaṃ anuppādānaṃ* and *osadhinaṃ paṭimokkho*.

(1) *santikamma* (S., Skt *sāntikarma*) is explained in the *Sv* as fulfilling a vow to a god (*devaṭṭhānaṃ ganivā "Sace me idaṃ nāma samijjhati tumhākaṃ iminā ca iminā ca upahāraṃ karissāmiti", samiddhakāle kātappaṃ santi-paṭissava-kammaṃ*). However, *sāntikarma* (propitiatory rites, literally acts of appeasement), along with *baliharāṇa* (offering of oblations), is mentioned in the *Suśr* (Sū 1.4) in the explanation of *bhūtavidyā*, the fourth of the eight branches of Āyurveda,<sup>3</sup> the purpose of which is counteracting the "possession" (*graha*) of minds

<sup>3</sup> The *aṣṭāṅga* in Āyurveda are: *śalya* (surgical knowledge with special reference to the extraction of foreign bodies), *sālākiya* (treatment of diseases in the region over the clavicle), *kāyacikitsā* (treatment of general diseases), *bhūtavidyā* (knowledge of diseases caused by supernatural beings: mental disorders), *kaumārābhṛtya* (paediatrics), *agadatantra* (toxicology), *rasāyanatantra* (geriatrics) and *vajīkaranatantra* (vinihgenics). *Suśr* Sū 1.7.

by various categories of *bhūtas* (Devas, Asuras, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Piṭṛs, Piśācas, Nāgas).<sup>4</sup> *Sāntikarma* was thus a kind of white magic.

In spite of the chronological gap in relation to the texts under discussion, it is interesting to note that in Sri Lanka, the term *sāntikarma*, sometimes simply *sāntiya*, is still used in the sense of white magic, in reference to two types of ceremonies: "*bali*" and "*tovil*". The first is a propitiatory ceremony performed to counter the evil effects of the planets. The second is also a propitiatory ceremony, but coupled with exorcism of evil spirits called *yakṣas*. The term "*bali*" (oblations) is used more or less in the same sense as in the Sanskrit. But "*graha*" in the sense of "possession" or "seizure" applies rather to the *tovil* ceremonies. However, "*graha*" meaning planets, in the context of *bhūtavidyā* of the Sanskrit texts, occurs in another definition quoted in the *Vś*.<sup>5</sup>

(2) *bhūrikamma*: In the *DN*, the reading [*bhūtikammaṃ*] is suggested by the editors, who give *bhūta*- as a variant reading (from MS in Burmese characters in the Phayre Collection at the India Office) in a footnote.<sup>6</sup> If the reading *bhūtikammaṃ* is admitted, it corresponds to *bhūtavidyā* discussed above. However, *bhūrikammaṃ* is the term found in the *Sv* which interprets it as "*bhūrtighare vasitvā gahitamantassa*"

<sup>4</sup> *bhūtavidyā nāma devāsura-gandharva-yakṣa-rakṣah-piṭṛ-piśāca-nāga-grahādy upasṛṣṭa-cetasāṃ sāntikarma-baliharandāl-grahapaśamanārtham*. *Suśr* Sū 1.7.iv. The tr. of *santikammaṃ* in the *CBP*, "les pratiques magiques en vue d'apaiser les esprits" (magical practices in view of appeasing spirits) agrees with that meaning of *bhūtavidyā*. The *DB* follows the meaning given in the *Sv*: "Vowing gifts to a god if a certain benefit be granted".

<sup>5</sup> *grahabhūtapīśācā ca - śākinīdākinigrāhāḥ/eteṣāṃ nigrāhāḥ samyak - bhūtavidyā nigadyate*// quoted in the *Vś*, p.752.

<sup>6</sup> *bhūrikamma* is translated as "repeating charms while lodging in an earth house", in the *DB* and as "garder sa maison" (taking care of or staying in one's house) in the *CBP*.

*payogakarānam*." Professor Richard F Gombrich points out<sup>7</sup> that Buddhaghosa's reading *bhūri*- in the 5th century A.D. is more authentic than the banalised reading *bhūta*- in a Burmese manuscript of the 18th or 19th century, which cannot represent an old tradition. He further explains that "when a person is seeking supernormal powers (*siddhi*), he gets an initiation (*āikṣā*) at which he receives a *mantra*. The next stage is known as *puraścaraṇa* or 'preliminary action'; he has to practise what he has been taught, for example by reciting his *mantra* a fixed (large) number of times. This he does while staying in seclusion." Taking this to be the practice referred to by Buddhaghosa, Professor Gombrich translates the gloss on *bhūri*- as "staying in a house and practising the *mantra* one has received"; he suggests that *bhūrikamma* means "repetition (of a *mantra*)".

(3) *vassakamma*, promotion of virility, is explained in the *Sv* as derived from "*vasso*" meaning "man" (*Eittha vasso ti puriso*). Rev. R. Morris traces Pāli "*vassa*" to Skt "*varṣa*", from *√vr̥ṣ*. In comparison, he cites Skt *varṣadhara* and Pāli *vassavara*, "an eunuch".<sup>8</sup> It would be more correct to refer in this context the meaning, "to have manly power, generative vigour" of *√vr̥ṣ*, as shown in Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, on the basis of the *Dhātupāṭha*. In fact, the Skt adjectival form *vr̥ṣya*, "productive of sexual vigour", occurs frequently in *āyurvedic* texts.<sup>9</sup> In that sense, it corresponds to *vājīkaraṇa*<sup>10</sup>, the last

<sup>7</sup>Personal communication dated 23/07/1995.

<sup>8</sup>Notes and queries, *JPTS* 1889, p.208.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. *kaidārā madhurā vr̥ṣyā balyāḥ pittanibarahaṇāḥ/ iṣat kaṣāyālpamalā guravaḥ kapha śukra alāḥ* // *Suśr* Sū 46.17.

<sup>10</sup>Toḍaramalla explains *vāji* as *śukra* (semen) and its production in a person as *vājīkaraṇa*. Bhagwan Dash and Lalitesh Kashyap, *Basic principles of Āyurveda based on Āyurveda saukhyam of Toḍarānanda*, New Delhi 1980, p.60. The other interpretation is sexual vigour, similar to that of a horse (*vāji*): *yad dravyam puraṣam vājivat surataksamaṃ karoti tad vājīkaraṇam ucyate*. *Vś*, p.953. (Rājā Toḍaramalla of Oudh was a Minister to the Moghul Emperor Akbar, 16th

branch of the *aṣṭāṅga*, described as the therapy promoting the increase, purification, accumulation and ejaculation of semen which is scanty, vitiated, deficient and dried up, and also causing pleasure (in men who are thus treated).<sup>11</sup>

(4) *ācamana*: The term occurs in the *Suśr* (Śā 2.13) as a means of treating vitiated menstrual blood. The commentary explains the term as "water for washing the vagina" with the additional note: "made with drugs removing *doṣas* like *vāta* etc."<sup>12</sup> The *Vś*s explains *ācamana* as "rinsing of the mouth at the end of a meal."<sup>13</sup> Probably, the term in our text refers to "mouthwash", "rinsing" or "gargle" mentioned in *āyurvedic* texts (*mukhapūraṇam*).<sup>14</sup> Two kinds of mouthwash are described: *kavala* and *gaṇḍūṣa*, the distinction between the two being that in *kavala* the medicinal liquid could be easily rolled in the mouth whereas in *gaṇḍūṣa* it is the contrary (*Suśr* Cī 40.62, *Aś* Sū 22.11b). The meaning of *ācamana* as mouthwash is supported by the explanation in the *Sv*: *udakena mukhasiddhikaraṇam*.<sup>15</sup>

(5) *nāhāpāna* (Skt *snāna*), bathing, is also recommended in *āyurvedic* texts as a preventive measure to preserve good health. The *Suśr* (Cī 24.57-60) describes the benefits of bathing and (Cī 24.61-62) gives contraindications. The title of this 24th chapter is worth underlining: *anāgātābādhapratīṣedha*. *Daḥaṇa* explains *anāgata* as

century A.D. Twenty-three works attributed to him are collectively called *Toḍarānanda*.)

<sup>11</sup>*vājīkaraṇatantram nāmālpā-ḍuṣṭa- kṣīṇa-viśuṣka-retasām āpyāyana-pra-śāḍopacaya-janana-nimittam praharṣajanānārtham ca*. *Suśr* Sū 1.8.

<sup>12</sup>*ācamanaṃ yoniprakṣālanodakam, tad api vātādiḍoṣaharadravyakṛtam*.

<sup>13</sup>*bhojanāntamukhakaṣālane*.

<sup>14</sup>*sneha-kṣīra-kaṣāyādi-dravyair mukhapūraṇam gaṇḍūṣaḥ*. *Vś*, p.352.

<sup>15</sup>The tr. given in the *DB* is "ceremonial rinsings of the mouth"; that in the *CBP*, "rincer la bouche" (rinsing the mouth), is more precise.



*iṣadāgataḥ* (*anāgata iṣadāgataḥ, naī atra iṣadarthe*, literally "not come", i.e. not apparent), *ābādha* as *duḥkham vyādhir* (pain, illness) and *pratiśedha* as *chikitsam* (remedying). The *Car* (Sū 5.94) also gives in brief the benefits of bathing. As bathing in the canonical passage is given as a craft eschewed by the Buddha, it has to be in that context a medical therapy rather than a part of personal regimen. Hence the *Sv* interpretation, "bathing others" (*aññesaṃ nahāpanaṃ*). That it was also a medical therapy is corroborated in the *Suśr* statement (under *snāna*) that "In cases of an aggravation of the deranged Vāyu and Kapha, the head may be washed with warm water, as a medicine, after a careful consideration of the intensity of the disease".<sup>16</sup>

(6) *vamana*, emetics and (7) *virecana*, purgatives are the two purificatory (*saṃśodhana*) therapies in Āyurveda.<sup>17</sup> Drugs having emetic and purgative properties, their administration, diseases for which the two therapies are effective etc. are treated, for instance, in *Suśr* Sū 39, Cī 33 and 34; *Car* Sū 15 and *Ah* Sū 18.

(8) *uddhāvirecana* (cleansing from the upper part of the body, i.e. emetics), (9) *adhovirecana* (cleansing from the lower part of the body, i.e. purgation) and (10) *sirovirecana* (= a kind of *nasya*, cleansing from the head, i.e. errhines or administration of medicinal substances through the nose, see footnote 18 below) form part of *vamana* and *virecana*. Dalhaṇa explains: *ūrdhvaḥbāhāgarāṇī vamanakarāṇī*

<sup>16</sup> Bhiṣagratna's tr. Italics are mine.

*śleṣmāmūrtukope nu nātvā vyādhibālabalaṃ!*

*kāmaṃ usṇaṃ śiraśśnānaṃ bhāṣajyārthaṃ samācāret// Suśr Cī 24.60.*

The *DB* renders *nahāpanaṃ* as "Ceremonial bathings" and gives in a footnote the meaning of the *Sv*: "Bathings, that is, of other people"; the *CBP* tr. "baigner" (bathing) corresponds to the significance of the term in the Āyurvedic context.

<sup>17</sup> *Tatra dvividhaṃ saṃśodhanaṃ - vamaṇaṃ virecanaṃ ca.*

Dalhaṇa's commentary to *Suśr* Sū 39.3.

*arthaḥ, adhobhāgaharāṇī virecanāṇī arthaḥ, śirovirecanāṇī nasyaprayogena śirasthaṃ śleṣmānaṃ virecayanti srāvayanti arthaḥ* (cleansing from the head means removing the phlegm of the head by means of the administration of drugs through the nose).<sup>18</sup>

(11) *kaṇṇatela* is explained in the *Sv* as boiling medicinal oil either for developing the ears or for removing ulcers (*kaṇṇānaṃ vadhanathaṃ vā vaṇaharaṇathaṃ vā bhesajjatelapacanaṃ*). *Kaṇṇatela* seems to be the same as *karnaṇpūraṇam* of Āyurvedic texts, i.e. filling the ears with medicinal oils etc. for curing ear ailments.<sup>19</sup>

(12) *netatappana*, soothing of the eyes by pouring clarified butter mixed with lukewarm water into the cavities of the eyes and retaining it for a specified time is explained in detail in *Suśr* Ut 18, among the following treatments of eye diseases: *puṭapāka* (extraction of

<sup>18</sup> See Dalhaṇa's commentary to *Suśr*, Sū 39.3,4,6.

The *DB* translates *vamana*, *virecana*, *uddhāvirecana* and *adhovirecana* as "administering emetics and purgatives". The tr. in the *CBP* is more precise: "faire vomir" (cause vomiting), "faire purger" (cause purging), "chasser les impuretés par le haut" (evacuating impurities from above), "les chasser par le bas" (evacuating them from below). The term *sisāvirecana* is translated in the *DB* and the *CBP* respectively as: "purging people to relieve the head (that is by giving drugs to make people sneeze)", and "chasser celles qui sont dans la tête" (evacuating those [impurities] in the head). The explanation in the *Sv* of the five terms is: *vamanan* *ti yogam darbā vamanakaraṇaṃ, virecane pi es' eva nayo, uddhāvirecanan* *ti uddhaṃ doṣānaṃ nihaṇaṇaṃ, adhovirecanan* *ti adho nihaṇaṇaṃ, sisāvirecanan* *ti sirovirecanam*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *karnaṇaṃ praṭhāyay samyak - snehādyaṅ nītrāyā bhīṣak/ noccaḥ śrutir na bādhiryaṃ syān nityaṃ karnaṇpūraṇāt//* quoted in the *Yś*, p.220.

The tr. of *kaṇṇatelaṃ* in the *DB* follows the explanation of the *Sv*: "Oiling people's ears (either to make them grow or to heal sores on them)". The *CBP* translates it as "préparer de l'huile pour l'oreille" (preparing oil for the ear), cf. *CPD* s.v.

medicinal fluid through a process of heating to be used as *tarpaṇa*, *seka* (sprinkling), *āścyotana* (eye-drops) and *añjana* (salves). The *Sv* explains it as oil for soothing the eyes (*akkhitappanatelam*).<sup>20</sup>

(13) *nathukamma* (S., Skt *nasya*), administration of medicinal substances, mainly oil through the nose (cf. *sirovirecana* above).<sup>21</sup> The explanation given in the *Sv*, "*telam yojervā nathukaraṇam*", agrees with the description in *Suśr*. Vaidya K.L. Bhishagratna (see *Suśr* in the list of abbreviations) translates *nasya* as "snuff" and *sirovirecana* as "erhines".

(14) *Suśr* describes *añjana* as being of three forms: pills, liquid and powder,<sup>22</sup> to be applied with a rod (*śalākā*) which, like the receptacle of the *añjana*, should be made of one of the following materials: gold, silver, horn, copper, *vaidūrya* precious stone (diamond), bell metal and iron (Ut 18.61). The *Sv* explains *añjana* as "alkaline salve capable of removing two or three layers (of the eyes)" (*āve vā tñi vā paṭalāni nīharaṇasamattham khārañjanam*).<sup>23</sup>

(15) *paccañjana* (Skt *pratyañjana*), according to the *Sv*, is "a cooling medicinal salve prepared through successive soaking"

<sup>20</sup> The term is translated in the *CBP* as "des lavages d'yeux" (eyewashes) and in the *DB* as "Satisfying people's eyes (soothing them by dropping medicinal oils into them)".

<sup>21</sup> *ausadhām auśadhasiddho vā sneho nāsikābhīyam dīyata iti nasyam. tad dvividhām śrovirecanam snehanam ca. Suśr* Ci 40.21. Details are given in the same text up to śloka 57. See also *Ah* Sū 20.

The *DB* and the *CBP* have the same meaning: "Administering drugs through the nose" and "des drogues à respirer par le nez" respectively.

<sup>22</sup> *guṭikārasacūrpāni trividhāny añjanāni tī (Ut 18.58).*

<sup>23</sup> *Añjana* is translated in the *DB* as "applying collyrium to the eyes", in the *CBP* as "des collyres" (collyriums).

(*bhāvaniya-sītala-bhesajjañjanam*).<sup>24</sup> *Pratyañjana* is explained by Dalhaṇa as a secondary salve (*yad añjanasyānuprayujyate, tat pratyañjanam, Suśr* Ut 17.36). Bhishagratna further clarifies the term as a "secondary eye-salve (which) is an antidote for the over-use of an Anjana" (Vol.III, p.73, footnote).

(16) *sālākya* (Skt *śālākya*) is that section of the eightfold science of medicine (*aśṭāṅga* Āyurveda) dealing with the treatment of diseases over the clavicle such as ears, eyes, mouth, nose.<sup>25</sup>

(17) *sallakattika*, described in the *Sv* only as "*sallakattavejjakammam*", probably refers to *śalyaciktisā* of the *aśṭāṅga*, explained in the *Suśr* (Sū 1.7.i) as the removal of extraneous matter such as particles of grass, wood, stone, dust, metals, clay, bone, nails, pus from ulcers, as well as the use of surgical instruments, the application of alkalis (caustics) and fire (cauterisation), along with the diagnosis of ulcers.<sup>26</sup> Out of all surgical instruments and appliances, alkali (*kṣāra*) is

<sup>24</sup> The tr. in the *DB* is "giving medicinal ointment for the eyes", that in the *CBP*: "des onguents" (unguents). *Bhāvanā* (verb *bhāvayati*) meaning repeated soaking in medicinal liquids, is rendered "Bhāvanā saturation" by Bhishagratna (Vol.III, p.73 and passim). On both *pratyañjana* and *bhāvanā*, cf.

*pratyañjanam srotasi yat samutthitam*

*kramād rasakīraḥṛtesu bhāvītam Suśr* Ut 17.36ab.

*Bhāvanā* is explained as "*dravaḥpadārthena punaḥ punaḥ auśadhamāraṇe śosane ca*" in the *Vś* (p.748).

<sup>25</sup> *śālākyaṃ nāmordhvajatrugatānām śravaṇa-nayana-vadana-ghrāṇādī-saṃśrītānām vyādhiṇām upasamanāram* (*Suśr* Sū 1.7.ii). Both the *DB* and the *CBP* translate this term as the treatment of eye diseases ("Practising as an oculist" in the former and "exercer l'ophthalmologie" in the latter).

<sup>26</sup> The *DB* and the *CBP* rendering of the term as surgery ("practising as a surgeon", "la chirurgie" respectively) agrees with "*śalya*" in the *aśṭāṅga*: *śalyam nāma vividha-trṇa-kāṣṭha-pāśāna-pāṃṣu-loha-loṣṭīsthī-bālanakha-pūyāsrāvadvāṣṭa-vraṇāntargarba-śalyodharaṇaratham, yantra-śastra-kṣārāgni-prañidhāna-vraṇavinīścayārtham ca. Suśr* Sū 1.7.1.

considered as the best and cauterly (*agni*) as the better (the good being, by the way, the application of leeches, *jalaukāvīdhi*).<sup>27</sup> The two therapeutics *kṣārāpākāvīdhi* and *agnikarmāvīdhi* are described in detail in *Suśr* Sū 11-12 and *Ah* Sū 30; (*jalaukāvīdhi* in *Suśr* Sū 13 and *Ah* Sū 26.35-45).

(18) *dāraikatikicchā*, "komārabhaccavejjakammaṃ" in the *Sv*, is the *kaumārabhṛtya* (paediatrics) branch of the *aṣṭāṅga* Āyurveda, including the nursing of infants, the purification of mothers' milk, the pacification of diseases caused by vitiated mothers' milk and the evil influence of malignant stars and spirits, which are classified by Dalhaṇa as bodily and external causes.<sup>28</sup>

(19) *mūlabhesajjānaṃ anuppādānaṃ* is explained in the *Sv* as "*kāyatikicchaṃ*". This term in the *aṣṭāṅga* means general diseases, explained by *Suśruta* as "the appeasement of diseases of all parts of the body such as fever, internal haemorrhage, dehydration, insanity, skin diseases, urinary affection, diarrhoea."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *śastrānūsastrebhyaḥ kṣārāḥ pradhānatamaḥ*, *Suśr* Sū 11.3; *kṣārād agnir gariyān*, *Ibid.* Sū 12.3.

<sup>28</sup> *kaumārabhṛtyaṃ nāma kuṃārabharaṇa-dhātṛikṣāradōṣa-saṃśodhanārthan* *duṣṭas tanyā-grahasamutthānāṃ ca vyādhināṃ upāśamanārthan*. (*Suśr* Sū 1.7.v). Dalhaṇa's commentary: *tatra duṣṭas tanyena śārīrāḥ, duṣṭa-grahenāgantavaḥ*.

The *DB* and the *CBP* have the same meaning, "practising as a doctor for children" in the former and "la pédiatrie" in the latter.

<sup>29</sup> *kāyāchikitsā nāma sarvāṅgasamśritānāṃ vyādhināṃ jvara-raktapitta-śoṣoṇmādhāpasmāra-kuṣṭha-mehātīsārādīnāṃ upāśamanārthan*. (*Suśr* Sū 1.7.iii). This is translated in the *DB* as "administering roots and drugs" and in the *CBP* as "appliquer de nouveaux remèdes consistant en racines" (application of new remedies consisting of roots). Bhisagratna (Vol. I, p.3 footnote) explains: "The term *Kāya* literally signifies the vital heat or fire which runs through the entire system, and hence the *Kāya-chikitsā* deals with diseases which may gradually invade the root-principles of a living human organism".

(20) *osadhinaṃ paṭimokkho* is explained in the *Sv* as "*khārādīni darvā tadānurūpe khane gate tesam apanayanam*" (applying alkali etc. and removing them when the time for them has passed). These are obviously the methods of treatment known as *khāraggivīdhi*, referred to in § 17 above.<sup>30</sup>

It appears from the above discussion that *santikamma* (= *bhūta-vidyā*), *vassakamma* (= *vājīkaraṇa*), *sālākiya*, *sallakatika* (= *śalya-chikitsā*), *dāraikatikicchā* (= *kaumārabhṛtya*) and *mūlabhesajja* (= *kāyā-chikitsā*) fall within the eightfold division of Āyurveda. On the other hand, *vamana*, *virecana*, *nathukamma* and *sirovirecana* form part of the fivefold therapies (*pañcakarma*<sup>31</sup>) of āyurvedic texts. The application of alkali and cauterly (*kṣārāgnivīdhi*) also has an important place among āyurvedic remedies.

As these basic terms of āyurvedic therapy are found in two Theravāda Buddhist canonical texts, it may be deduced that those medical practices were already known during the time of Gotama Buddha, for according to the Theravāda tradition, the *Brahmajāla-* and *Sāmaññaphala-suttas* were the foremost among those authenticated at the first council held in Rājagaha, immediately after the *mahāparinirvāṇa*.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> This is translated in the *DB* as "administering medicines in rotation", and in the *CBP* as "contre-carrer l'effet de médicaments" (counteracting the effect of medications).

<sup>31</sup> *vamana* (emesis), *vireka* (purgation), *nasya* (administration of medicinal drugs through the nose), *nirūha* or *āsthāpana* (decoctional enema) and *anuvāsana* (oleaginous enema).

Cf. *vamaṇaṃ recanaṃ nasyaṃ nirūhaṃ cānūvāsanaṃ | jñeyaṃ pañcavidhaṃ karma vidhānaṃ tasya gadyate || Sīdhāsāra*, ed. R.E. Emmerick, Wiesbaden 1980, 30.1.

<sup>32</sup> See K.R. Norman, *op. cit.*, p.7. The date of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* is generally considered as 544 B.C. in South Asian Buddhist countries. However, this date has been subject to controversy and suggestions have been made to

These therapeutics, as seen above, are dealt with in the *Suśr*, which forms part of the major triad (*vrddhatrayā*) of āyurvedic literature. According to the late Professor Jean Filliozat, the *Suśr* may be dated back to the last centuries of the pre-Christian era, before coming down to us in a fixed form in the first centuries of the post-Christian era. He also shows that the Sūśruta school was anterior to the *Car* for the reason that the latter refers to the specialists of the Dhanvantari school which was the same as the Sūśruta school.<sup>33</sup> This fact is pointed out by Bhishagraha, too, (Vol.I, p.xi). Filliozat's thesis that the *Suśr* would have been in the making in the "last centuries of the pre-Christian era" is thus supported by the passage in the *Brahmajāla-* and *Sāmaññaphala-suttas*.

This passage also raises the question of the Buddhist attitude to medicine in that the medical practices under discussion have been described as disdained means of wrongful livelihood. This question has been answered by T.W. Rhys Davids in his remark that there was objection to Buddhist monks' practising medicine "as a means of livelihood", but they might do so "gratis for themselves or for their coreligionists, and laymen might do so for gain" (*DB*, p.26)<sup>34</sup>. Rhys Davids' statement finds support in the immense contribution made by Buddhists to the development of Indian medicine. Celebrated āyurvedic authors like Agniveśa, Caraka, Vāgbhāta, Nāgārjuna and those of the iatrochemical school, according to the French medical practitioner and

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bring it down to the 5th or even the 4th century B.C. See Heinz Bechert, *The dating of the historical Buddha*, (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, IV, 1-2, Göttingen 1991, 1992).

<sup>33</sup> *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, ses origines et ses parallèles*, 2nd ed., Paris 1975, pp.11-12.

<sup>34</sup> See also my paper, "Buddhism and traditional medicine in Sri Lanka", to appear shortly in *Pacific World*, Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley.

Indologist, Palmyr Cordier, were Buddhists.<sup>35</sup> Kenneth G Zysk adduces the theory that traditional Indian medicine developed among the mendicant ascetics or *śramaṇas* and that "Buddhism played a key role in the advancement of Indian medicine through its institutionalization of medicine in the Buddhist monastery".<sup>36</sup> To these observations may be added, in conclusion, that of R.C. Majumdar, a historian coming from an āyurvedic background: "In medicine, the contributions of Buddhist scholars are of great significance and outstanding value. Nāgārjuna, the medical author, the later Nāgārjuna (who composed many treatises on *rasacikitsā*, metallurgy and alchemy), Vāgbhāta, many of the Siddha authors of the iatrochemical school, and nearly all the medical missionaries who carried Indian medical science into Tibet, Central Asia, China and Ceylon were followers of the Buddhist faith".<sup>37</sup>

I am grateful to Professor Richard F Gombrich for the courtesy of making very useful critical observations on the draft of this paper. My thanks are due to the Pali Text Society for financing this research.

Sainte-Geneviève-des-Bois

Jinadasa Liyanaratne

<sup>35</sup> Palmyr Cordier, *Quelques données nouvelles à propos des traités médicaux sanscrits antérieurs au XIIIe siècle*, Calcutta 1899, p.3; *Id.*, *Vāgbhāta et l'Āṣṭāṅghraīdayasaṃhitā, Études sur la médecine hindoue*, Besançon 1896, p.8. Both these texts are reproduced in Arion Rosu, *Gustave Liétard et Palmyr Cordier, Travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne*, Paris 1989, pp.393ff., 419ff.

<sup>36</sup> *Asceticism and healing in ancient India, Medicine in the Buddhist monastery*, New York Oxford 1991, p.118.

<sup>37</sup> *A concise history of science in India*, eds. D.M. Bose, S.N. Sen, B.V. Subbarayappa. New Delhi 1989 reprint, p.220f.

## ABBREVIATIONS

(Publications)

- Ah* = *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasaṃhitā*, ed. Hariśāstrī Parāṅkar, Varanasi 1982, reprint.
- CBP* = *Canon bouddhique pâli*, texte et traduction, Suttapiṭaka, Dighanikāya, par Jules Bloch, Jean Filliozat, Louis Renou, Tome I, Fascicule I, Paris 1949. (Based on the Cambodian ed., compared with the PTS and Burmese eds.)
- Car* = *Carakasāṃhitā*, ed. P.V. Sharma, 2 Vols., Varanasi 1981, 1983.
- DB* = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Tr. T.W. and C.A.F Rhys Davids, Pt.I, London 1989 (SBB Vol.II).
- DN* = *The Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol.I, PTS 1890.
- Sv* = *The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya*, Pt. I, PTS 1886.
- Suśr* = *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, ed. Jāḍavji Trikmaji Ācārya and Nārāyaṇ Rām Ācārya, 2 Vols., Bombay 1938; K.L. Bhishagratna, Tr. *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, 3 Vols., 3rd ed., Varanasi 1981.
- Vś* = *Vaidyakaśabdasindhu*, ed. Umeśacandra Gupta, 3rd reprint, Varanasi 1983.

(General)

- Ci* = Cikitsāsthāna  
*S* = Sīnhala  
*Si* = Siddhisthāna  
*Sū* = Sūtrasthāna  
*Ut* = Uttarasthāna

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## Studies in Vinaya technical terms I-III

These are intended to be the first three of a series of "microographies", the purpose of which is to bring together and sort out the relevant Pā. data about a given term occurring in Vin, Kkh, Sp, and in secondary literature. "Vinaya technical term" is taken here in a broad sense, including, on the one hand, what are *stricto sensu* non-technical terms, such as those designating, or referring to, *realia* dealt with in Vinaya rules — e.g., *cīvara*; on the other hand, technical terms shared both by Vinaya texts and by other Indian legal literature — as exemplified recently by Schopen, Business. Sub-commentaries and compendia (Vjb, Vin-vn, Utt-vn, Khuddas, Mūla-s, and, when eventually available to me, Sp-t, Vmv, Kkh-t) will be resorted to only when deemed helpful. BHS and Skt. parallels are not meant to be exhaustive, but to provide a convenient set of references for further comparisons with the Pā. data; except when required by the complexity of the data involved, they will not be discussed *per se*, but only insofar as they help us to understand the form, meaning(s), or range of application of a Pā. term. Chin. and Tib. data — derived from secondary literature in European languages — will be resorted to only exceptionally.

The application of Thv(M) prescriptions to *both* monks and nuns will be mentioned only where and when explicitly stated in a text, so as to reflect the relative scarcity of data concerning nuns, and above all to avoid unwarranted extrapolations from the *Bhikkhu*- to the *Bhikkhunī-vinaya* on the excuse that the latter is a truncated version of the former, from which full details about the organisation of former nuns' communities could allegedly be retrieved safely *ex silentio*.

Skt. references are according to school, in the following order: Sa, Mī, Mā, Dha, then — should the occasion arise — Mī, any others, and unidentified schools; texts belonging to one and the same school are

vyagra: I n. 8.  
 vācanā: I § 5.  
 vinaya-karma: I n. 41.  
 vivṛta: II § 2b.iii.  
 vyūḍha, vyūḍhaka: II § 2b.ii; n. 37.  
 śamatha: II § 1.  
 śālākā-grahana, °cāraka, °cāraṇa: II § 2b.iii.  
 śikṣāpadadravyatā-vyavacārah: III n. 47.  
 sakarṇa-tuntunaka: II § 2b.iii.  
 saṅgha: I § 1; II n. 49; °karaṇīya: I § 7; °karma: I § 3; °bheda: II § 1a; māla-° II n. 41.  
 saṅghādisesa: I § 3 d; n. 1.  
 saṅghāvaṣeṣa: III n. 6.  
 saṃmukha: dharmā-°, pudgala-°, saṅgha-°: II n. 29; °karaṇīya, °vinaya: II § 2a.  
 samatha: II § 1.  
 samanū-srāvaya: I n. 30.  
 sarvasaṃghika: II § 2b.iii.  
 sa-vasnuka, a-°: I § 7.  
 sīmā: I § 1; n. 4; II n. 37.  
 sūtra-dhara: II § 2b.ii; n. 50.  
 sthalaṣṭha: I n. 41; II § 2b.ii; n. 45.  
 sthāvira: II § 2b.ii; n. 49.  
 sthānārha: I § 7; n. 36.  
 (a-)sthāpānārha: I § 7.  
 (a-)sthāpaṇīya: I § 7.  
 sthūlāyaya: II n. 62.  
 sthūlārti(-gāmini): II n. 62; III n. 9.  
 smṛti-vinaya: II § 2c.

## The Sambuddhe verses and later Theravādin Buddhism\*

### 1. The Sambuddhe verses in Siam

A short verse text, entitled simply *Sambuddhe* or *Sambuddhe-gāthā*, is well known in Siam. In the *Royal Chanting Book*, it is one of the ancillary texts placed at the beginning of the *Seven Parittas* (*Sattaparitta*) — also known as the *Lesser Royal Paritta* (*Cularāja-paritra*) or, in Thai, *Seven Protections* (*Jet Tamnan*) — and the *Twelve Parittas* (*Dvādasaparitta*), also known as the *Greater Royal Paritta* (*Mahārājaparitra*) or *Twelve Protections* (*Sipsong Tamnan*).<sup>1</sup> It is included in the various books of chants that are widely available, and in a Khmer script palm-leaf manuscript in the collection of the Siam Society.<sup>2</sup> Since the *Seven* and *Twelve Parittas* belong to the liturgy of the Siamese order of monks (*saṅgha*), the *Sambuddhe* verses are familiar to or known by heart by most monks and novices. Here I will give the Pāli of the *Royal Chanting Book*, followed by an English translation.

\* This is a revised version of an article first published in the *Journal of the Secretarial Office of H.H. the Supreme Patriarch*, Bangkok, Vol. I, No. 2, January–March 2536 [1993], pp. 73–85.

<sup>1</sup> *Suat mant chabap huang*, 13th ed., Bangkok, 2526 [1983], pp. 3–4 and 32–33, respectively (the second occurrence is abbreviated). For the interpretation of *tamnan* as “protection” I follow Dhanit Yupho, who derives the word from the Pāli *tāna*, changed to *taṃnān* and then to *tamnan*: see his *Anuphap phraparit* [*The Power of Paritta*, in Thai], Bangkok, n.d., p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Oskar von Hinüber, “The Pāli Manuscripts Kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok: A Short Catalogue”, *Journal of the Siam Society* 75 (1987), § 52a, p. 46. The text given by von Hinüber, which might date to the latter part of the 19th century, agrees with that of the *Royal Chanting Book*, with a few minor orthographical variants and misprints.

## 1.1. Pāli text

- (1) *sambuddhe aṭṭhaviṣaṇ ca dvādasāṇ ca saḥassake pañcasatasahassāni namāmi sīrasā ahaṃ tesam dhammaṇ ca saṅghaṇ ca ādarena namāmi 'haṃ namakārānubhāvena hantvā sabbe upaddave anekā antarāyā pi vinassantu asesato*
- (2) *sambuddhe pañcapañnāsāṇ ca catuvīsatisahassake dasasatasahassāni namāmi sīrasā ahaṃ tesam dhammaṇ ca saṅghaṇ ca ādarena namāmi 'haṃ namakārānubhāvena hantvā sabbe upaddave anekā antarāyā pi vinassantu asesato*
- (3) *sambuddhe navuttarasate aṭṭhacattāṭṭisahasassake vīsatisatasahassāni namāmi sīrasā ahaṃ tesam dhammaṇ ca saṅghaṇ ca ādarena namāmi 'haṃ namakārānubhāvena hantvā sabbe upaddave anekā antarāyā pi vinassantu asesato*

## 1.2. Translation

- (1) With my head I pay homage to the 500 thousand, 12 thousand, and 28 Sambuddhas; to their Dhamma and their Saṅgha I respectfully pay homage. By the power of [this] act of homage may all misfortune be destroyed and all variety of danger be removed, without exception.

- (2) With my head I pay homage to the 1 million, 24 thousand, and 55 Sambuddhas; to their Dhamma and their Saṅgha I respectfully pay homage. By the power of [this] act of homage may all misfortune be destroyed and all variety of danger be removed, without exception.
- (3) With my head I pay homage to the 2 million, 48 thousand, and 109 Sambuddhas; to their Dhamma and their Saṅgha I respectfully pay homage. By the power of [this] act of homage may all misfortune be destroyed and all variety of danger be removed, without exception.

2. The *Sambuddhe* verses in Burma

A number of recensions of the *Sambuddhe-gāthā* are said to exist in Burma. The "standard" recension consists of only the first verse of the Siamese version, with one extra line. Whether the remaining two verses are given in other recensions remains to be seen.<sup>3</sup> I transcribe here the sole printed version available to me, without any changes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The *Sambuddhe* verses are included in several manuscripts in German collections: see Heinz Braun and Daw Tin Tin Myint, *Burmese Manuscripts*, Part 2 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XXIII.2), Stuttgart, 1985, §§ 194, 227, 358.

<sup>4</sup> My transcription is from a xerox-copy of a small book of *gāthās* for which I do not have any bibliographical data; the division of the verses into three sections follows this text (*ka*, *ka*, and *ga*). Ven. Dhammānanda Mahāthēra of Burma, now residing at Wat Tamao, Lampang, has confirmed orally that the version known to him consists of only the first verse of the Siamese version, and that it contains the extra line, which he describes as a "later addition".

## 2.1. Pāli text

- (1) *sambuddhe aṭṭhaviṣaṇ ca | dvādasāṇ ca saḥassake |  
pañcāsata saḥassāni | namāmi srasāmahaṃ |*
- (2) *appakā vāḷukā gaṅgā | anantā nibbutā jinā |  
tesaṃ dhammaṇ ca saṅghaṇ ca | ādarena namāṃ' ahaṃ*
- (3) *namakkārānubhāvena | haṃtvā sabbe upaddave ||  
aneka antarāyā pi | vinassantu asesato ||*

## 2.2. Translation

With my head I pay homage  
to the 500 thousand, 12 thousand, and 28 Sambuddhas.  
The sands of the Ganges are few,  
the Conquerors [Buddhas] who have attained nibbāna are  
limitless:  
to their Dhamma and their Saṅgha I respectfully pay homage.  
By the power of [this] act of homage  
may all misfortune be destroyed  
and all variety of danger be removed, without exception.

The phrase *nibbutā jinā* indicates that the Buddhas belong to the past. The verses are very popular in Burma, where lay-followers often know them by heart. They are held to be highly efficacious in averting calamity, eliminating obstacles, and promoting welfare, and many stories are circulated about their miraculous power. The Sambuddhe Cetiya at Monywa on the Chindwin River, in Sagaing Division to the northwest of Mandalay, represents 512,028 Buddhas. It was apparently built less than 100 years ago.

The Siamese verses pay homage to three groups of Buddhas, numbering 512,028; 1,024,055; and 2,048,109, respectively. As pointed out by von Hinüber, if the first group is *x*, the second is *2x-1*, and the third *2(2x-1)-1*. A question naturally arises: what is the significance of these rather large numbers of Buddhas, and from what text or texts are the numbers derived? The figures cannot refer to present Buddhas, since it is a firm tenet of the Theravādins that only one Buddha, in the present age Sakyamuni, can exist at one time.<sup>5</sup> They should therefore refer to past or future Buddhas. In order to suggest a possible explanation of the figures, and to put the question in its proper context, we must first look briefly at the development of the theory of past and future Buddhas according to the Theravādin and other Buddhist schools.<sup>6</sup>

3. The development of the theory of past Buddhas<sup>7</sup>

## 3.1. The common heritage

Through his own effort Sakyamuni realized enlightenment beneath the *bodhi*-tree near Gayā, and thus became an enlightened or awakened one, a Buddha. Not long afterwards, *en route* to Vārāṇasī, he

<sup>5</sup> See, however, Heinz Bechert, "Buddha-field and Transfer of Merit in a Theravāda Source", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35 (1992), pp. 95-108.

<sup>6</sup> For this subject, see J.Ph. Vogel, "The Past Buddhas and Kāśyapa in Indian Art and Epigraphy", in *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 808-16; L.B. Horner (tr.), *The Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon*, Part III, London, 1975, Preface to *Chronicle of the Buddhas (Buddhavaṃsa)*, pp. ix-xvii; Richard Gombrich, "The Significance of Former Buddhas in the Theravādin Tradition", in Somaratna Balasooriya et al. (eds.), *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula*, London, 1980, pp. 62-72; Isshi Yamada (ed.), *Karuṇāpūṇḍarika*, London, 1968, Vol. I, pp. 121-26.

<sup>7</sup> References to Pāli texts are to the editions of the Pāli Text Society (PTS), unless otherwise noted. References to Tibetan texts (Q) are to the *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*, ed. D.T. Suzuki, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1955-61. Chinese texts are referred to by Taishō catalogue (T) number.



met an ascetic (*āṇvaka*) named Upaka. Impressed by the Buddha's appearance, the latter asked, "Who is your teacher (*sathā*)?" The Buddha replied:

I have no teacher. There is no one like me:  
in this world with its gods I have no counterpart.  
I am the arhat in this world; I am the unsurpassed teacher;  
alone I have become fully enlightened;  
I have become cool and realized nibbāna.<sup>8</sup>

The Buddha claimed to have realized enlightenment by himself, and to be the only Buddha in the world in his time. He did not, however, claim to have been the only person to have ever become a Buddha. A phrase referring to "those who were arhats, fully enlightened Buddhas in the past... those who will become arhats, fully enlightened Buddhas in the future" occurs in several places in the Tipiṭaka.<sup>9</sup> In the *Gāra-sutta*, Brahmā Sahampati speaks the following verses:

The Buddhas of the past, the Buddhas of the future,  
and the Buddha of the present, destroyer of much sorrow,  
dwell, will dwell, and dwell paying respect to the Good  
Dhamma:  
this is the natural rule for Buddhas.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Majjhimanikāya* I 171, 7 (*Ariyapariyesana-sutta*).

<sup>9</sup> *Samyuttanikāya* I 140, 1-5 (spoken by Brahmā Sahampati), *ye pi te bhante ahesum aītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammāsambuddhā... ye pi te bhante bhavissanti anāgataṃ addhānaṃ arahanta sammāsambuddhā*; *Dīghanikāya* III 99, 17-100, 5 (*Sampasādanīya-sutta*, spoken by the Buddha).

<sup>10</sup> *Samyuttanikāya* I 138-40; a (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin version of the sūtra is found in Śamathadeva, *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tīkā*, Q5598 (Vol. 118), *Thu* 130b1-132a6; for Sanskrit of the verses only, see Franz Bernhard (ed.), *Udānavarga* (*Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden* X), Vol. I, Göttingen, 1965, XXI, 11-12.

In the *Nagara-sutta*, the Buddha gives the following simile: a man travelling in the jungle discovers an ancient road travelled by the people of the past; he follows it, and comes to an ancient city, a royal capital. The Buddha explains that similarly he has discovered an ancient path travelled by the Buddhas of the past, that is, the noble eightfold path.<sup>11</sup>

It is thus clear that the concept of a plurality of past and future Buddhas is implicit to the early strata of the Tipiṭaka, not only of the Theravādins but also of other schools.

The earliest lists of past Buddhas give the names of six predecessors of Sakyamuni, making a total of seven Buddhas. Such lists occur in the *Dīghanikāya*: in verse in the *Ātānāṭiya-sutta* (DN III 195, 27-196, 8) and in prose in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (DN II 2, 15 foll.), as well as in the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin equivalent of the latter, the *Mahāvādāna-sūtra*.<sup>12</sup> The list also occurs in the *Vinaya* literature: in the Theravādin *Bhikkhu-vibhaṅga* (Vin III 7-9); in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Prātimokṣa*,<sup>13</sup> *Śayanāsanavastu*,<sup>14</sup> and *Pravrajyāvastu*,<sup>15</sup> in the

<sup>11</sup> *Samyuttanikāya* II 104-7. The Sanskrit version of the Sarvāstivādin school is found in the *Nidānasamyukta*: see Chandrabhāi Tripāthi (ed.), *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamyukta* (*Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden VIII*), Berlin, 1962, pp. 94-106; the *Vinaya* version of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school is lost in Sanskrit but preserved in Tibetan translation in their *Pravrajyāvastu*: see Helmut Eimer (ed.), *Rab tu 'byung ba'i gzhi*, Vol. II, Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 281, 4-289.

<sup>12</sup> The Sanskrit edition of this text is not available to me, but the relevant passage is cited in Tibetan translation by Śamathadeva, *Thu* 102a8-103a3, from the *rTogs pa brjod pa chen po'i mdo*. Cf. also Étienne Lamotte, *La Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, Vol. I, Louvain, 1965, p. 535 and n. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Anukul Chandra Banerjee (ed.), *Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit*, Calcutta, 1977, p. 55, 16.

<sup>14</sup> Raniero Gnoli (ed.), *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaravastu*, Rome, 1978, pp. 27-30.

Lokottaravādin *Mahāvastu*<sup>16</sup> and *Prātimokṣa*;<sup>17</sup> and in other texts of all periods and schools, too numerous to mention.

The seven Buddhas are named in inscriptions and represented "aniconically" on the monuments of Bhārhut and Sāñchi (*circa* 2nd–1st century BCE).<sup>18</sup> From the early centuries of the Common Era they are depicted (sometimes along with Metteyya) in human form in the sculpture of Mathurā and Gandhāra,<sup>19</sup> and, during the Gupta period, in the murals of Ajanta.<sup>20</sup> Although tradition placed these Buddhas aeons before Sakyamuni, it also held that certain sites in India were associated with three of his predecessors: the Nigali Sagar pillar of Aśoka (reigned ca. 272–236 BCE) records that the Emperor enlarged the *thūpa* (*thuba*) of Konakamana (Koṅāgamaṇa) in the fourteenth year of his reign, and that he visited and worshipped it again at a later date,<sup>21</sup> while the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang describe various sites in India connected with all three.<sup>22</sup> Similar traditions developed in South-east

<sup>16</sup> Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III pt. 4, [Calcutta, 1950] Delhi, 1984, p. 326. The same passage occurs in the *Samgharakṣitīvadāna*. P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Dīvyāvadāna*, Darbhanga, 1959, p. 206, 8.

<sup>17</sup> Radhagovinda Basak (ed.), *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 320 foll; five predecessors (omitting Śikhin) are given in verse at *Mahāvastu* Vol. I, ed. S. Bagchi, Darbhanga, 1970, p. 240, 14.

<sup>18</sup> Nathmal Tatia (ed.), *Prātimokṣasūtram*, Patna, 1975, pp. 36–37.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. John Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchi*, Calcutta, 1955, pp. 57–58 and pl. ii; Alexander Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, repr. Varanasi, 1962, pp. 108–9, 113–16, and pls. xxix–xxx. The representation of the *bodhi* tree and inscription of Śikhin have not been found.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Alexander Coburn Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, Ascona, 1959, pp. 198–99.

<sup>21</sup> Vogel, p. 811.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Oxford, 1925, p. 165.

<sup>23</sup> Alexander Soper, *loc. cit.*

Asia, for example in Burma, where the Shwedagon Pagoda is believed to enshrine relics of Sakyamuni and his three predecessors.<sup>23</sup>

### 3.2. The Theravādin theory of past Buddhas

A study of the development of the Theravādin theory of past Buddhas must take into account two interrelated aspects: the number of past Buddhas referred to, and the nature and length of the bodhisatta's career during the many past lives in which he practised the perfections (*pāramī*) and aspired to enlightenment. The career is measured in two types of aeon: the "[ordinary] aeon" (*kappa*) and the "incalculable aeon" (*asankheyya*, *asankhīya*). The texts give various definitions of the latter; here it should be seen as an extremely large number ("zillions") of aeons, each of which is in itself long enough to confound the human imagination. It is important to remember that, except in the theory's earliest phase, all of the past Buddhas were either associated with Sakyamuni himself when he was a bodhisatta, or are associated with certain types of bodhisattas in general. That is, the number of past Buddhas is never closed: a given figure always refers to the number of Buddhas honoured by Sakyamuni or a representative bodhisatta during a specific period of his bodhisatta career. The implications of this will be discussed in the concluding section.

(1) The earliest phase, which is the common heritage of all Buddhist schools, has been described above. It allows a plurality of past Buddhas, and names seven — Sakyamuni and his six predecessors — as in the *Dighanikāya* and *Vinaya*.

<sup>23</sup> Aung Thaw, *Historical Sites in Burma*, Rangoon, 1972, pp. 112–14. Only the three immediate predecessors who, like Sakyamuni, arose in the Auspicious Aeon (*bhaddakappa*) could leave traces or relics; the earlier predecessors could not, since they arose in earlier aeons.

(2) In the next phase, the *Buddhavaṃsa* names 27 (24 + 3) past Buddhas; when Gotama is counted, there are 25 or 28. The same text,<sup>24</sup> along with the *Cariyāpiṭaka*,<sup>25</sup> the *Milindapañha*,<sup>26</sup> and the *Visuddhimagga*,<sup>27</sup> states that the bodhisatta's career lasts four incalculable aeons plus 100,000 lesser aeons. Both the number of Buddhas and the description of the career are unique to the Theravādins. The first two texts are canonical, although modern scholarship holds them to be later additions; the *Milindapañha* dates over a number of centuries, from the 2nd century BCE to the early centuries CE.<sup>28</sup> The *Visuddhimagga* was composed by Buddhaghosa in the 5th century. The theories most probably date to the beginning of the Common Era, if not earlier.

(3) The *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā* and *Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā* describe three types of bodhisatta, distinguished by the predominance of one of the three faculties of wisdom, faith, or energy. The length of the career of the first type of bodhisatta is as described in the preceding; that of the second is two times the first; of the third two times the second, with the additional figure of 100,000 aeons remaining constant:

- (i) "strong in wisdom" (*paññā-adhika*), attaining enlightenment in four incalculable aeons plus 100,000 aeons;
- (ii) "strong in faith" (*saddhā-adhika*), attaining enlightenment in eight incalculable aeons plus 100,000 aeons;

<sup>24</sup> *Buddhavaṃsa* II,1 (PTS ed. p. 9).

<sup>25</sup> *Cariyāpiṭaka* I,1 (PTS ed. p. 1).

<sup>26</sup> *Milindapañha*, PTS ed. pp. 232-34, 289; Mahāmaṅgala ed. pp. 247.7 foll., 365 penult.

<sup>27</sup> Mahāmaṅgala ed. pp. 100.

<sup>28</sup> See K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Jan Gonda, [ed.], *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, fasc. 2) Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 110-13.

- (iii) "strong in energy" (*viriyā-adhika*), attaining enlightenment in sixteen incalculable aeons plus 100,000 aeons.<sup>29</sup>

The *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā* is traditionally ascribed to Buddhaghosa (5th century CE), although doubts have been expressed about his authorship;<sup>30</sup> the *Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā* is ascribed to Dhammapāla, who may have worked about the middle of the 6th century.<sup>31</sup> Neither text enumerates any Buddhas. In the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, also attributed to Buddhaghosa, the Buddha is presented as saying that "many thousands of Buddhas have lived by going for alms".<sup>32</sup> Much later, the theory of the three types of bodhisatta in the form given above was incorporated into Lanna works such as the *Paṭhamamūlamūli*.<sup>33</sup>

- (4) The next phase is represented by such late Pāli works as the *Sotatthakī-mahānādana*,<sup>34</sup> the *Sambhāravipāka*,<sup>35</sup> the *Mahāsampiṇḍa-*

<sup>29</sup> *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā*, Mahāmaṅgala ed. I 58-59; *Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā* tr. by Bhikkhu Bodhi in *The Discourse on the All-embracing Net of Views*, Kandy, 1978, pp. 325-27. In the latter the three types are equated with the three individuals (*ugghaṭṭāṇṇu*, *vipaṇṭāṇṇu*, *neyya*); see also François Martini (ed., tr.), *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa*, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 36 (1936), pp. 335 (text), 367-68 (translation); Medhankara, *Lokaḍḍipakasāra*, National Library-Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2529 [1986], pp. 553-54.

<sup>30</sup> See K.R. Norman, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>31</sup> Norman, p. 137.

<sup>32</sup> *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (Mahāmaṅgala ed.) III 164, 19 (*Suddhodana-vatthu*), *aneḱāni hi buddhasahassāni piṇḍāya carivā va jivimsu*.

<sup>33</sup> Anatole-Roger Peltier (ed., tr.), *Paṭhamamūlamūli*, Chiang Mai, 1991, pp. 8-9, 102-3. Note that both the French (p. 124) and English (p. 192) translations of the first passage give the wrong figure — 12 instead of 16 — for the last type.

<sup>34</sup> *Sotatthakī-mahānādana*, Bangkok, 2526 [1983], Pāli text pp. 3-4.

<sup>35</sup> *Phra sambhāravipāka* (Thai translation), Vol. 1, Bangkok, Rattanakosin era 126, pp. 4 foll.; Supaphan na Bangchang, *Vivāḍhanakār varnaganai pāli sai phra suttantapīṭak ti taeng nai pradēs thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 135-50.

*nidāna*,<sup>36</sup> and the *Jinakālamālī*, and by Sinhalese works such as the *Saddharmālanikāya*.<sup>37</sup> The theory seems to have first appeared in the Ceylon of the Polonnaruwa period (11th–13th centuries CE), but the question of its origins needs further study. Here the career of the first type of bodhisatta is expanded into three stages, according to the nature of his aspiration to enlightenment.<sup>38</sup> His career lasts altogether 20 incalculable aeons plus 100,000 aeons.

- (i) aspiration by mind only, for seven incalculable aeons;
- (ii) aspiration by mind and speech, for nine incalculable aeons;
- (iii) aspiration by mind, speech, and body, for four incalculable aeons.

The texts give breakdowns of the number of Buddhas served in each aeon, along with other details. In the *Jinakālamālī* (which does not calculate the total figure) the breakdown by chapter is as follows:<sup>39</sup>

<i>Manopañidhānakathā</i>	1	(Purāṇadīpaṅkara, p. 5,24)
<i>Mahānidānakathā</i>	125,000	(p. 7,3)
<i>Atidūrenidānakathā</i>	387,000	(p. 9,3)
<i>Dūrenidānakathā</i>	27	(3 — excluding Dīpaṅkara — p. 9,15, plus 24, p. 19,32 <i>kassapo catvīsatisimo</i> )
Total:	512, 028	

<sup>36</sup> Handwritten transcription by Ven. Nāṇāvāsa, pp. 10–11 (I am grateful to W. Sailer for supplying a copy); Supaphan, pp. 150–57.

<sup>37</sup> See the translation or summary from that work in R. Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism*, repr. Varanasi 1967, pp. 86–97. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. III, fasc. 3, [Colombo,] 1973, pp. 359–60; N.A. Jayawickrama, *Epochs of the Conqueror*, London, 1968, p. xix.

<sup>38</sup> The three periods are mentioned in the *Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā* (6th century), but not correlated with aeons: see Bhikkhu Bodhi, op. cit., p. 313.

<sup>39</sup> A.P. Buddhaddatta, *Jinakālamālī*, London, 1960.

The North Indian scholar Daśabalaśrimitra, writing probably in the 12th or the 13th century, cites an as yet unidentified Theravādin source that gives an accurate account of the theory.<sup>40</sup>

The Ārya Sthaviras state that “Sakyamuni realized omniscience (*sabbaññiṭṭā*) after 20 great incalculable aeons plus an additional 100,000 aeons. Herein, as a bodhisatta the Lord served 125,000 Buddhas for [the first] seven incalculable aeons, aspiring for enlightenment by means of mental resolve alone (*bsams pa tsam ñid kyis*). For the next nine incalculable aeons he served 387,000 Buddhas, engaging in the bodhisatta practices (*bodhisatta-cariyā*) and aspiring by means of mind (*citta*) and speech (*vācā*). For the next four incalculable aeons he served 12 Buddhas, engaged in practices devoted to enlightenment, and aspired for enlightenment by means of body (*kāya*), speech, and mind (*manas*). For 100,000 aeons the Lord, as a bodhisatta, served 15 Buddhas, engaged in the practices of a bodhisatta, and completed all the secondary practices, by means of body, speech, and mind; at the culmination (*agga*) of the 100,000 aeons the Teacher realized omniscience.”

<sup>40</sup> QS865, Vol. 146, folio ño 38a4 foll. His work, *An Analysis of the Conditioned and the Unconditioned*, survives only in an anonymous Tibetan translation of a lost Sanskrit original: see Peter Skilling, “The Sarṅskṛtāsamskṛtavinīcaya of Daśabalaśrimitra”, *Buddhist Studies Review* 4/1 (1987), pp. 3–23.

That the theory became popular is shown by the fact that it was incorporated into vernacular works in Sinhalese,<sup>41</sup> Burmese,<sup>42</sup> Khün,<sup>43</sup> and Lanna Thai.<sup>44</sup>

(5) The next phase is a logical development of the preceding: the theory of the three types of aspiration is applied to the remaining two types of bodhisatta. As before, the length of the career of the second type is twice that of the first, that of the third twice that of the second, and the figure 100,000 remains constant:

- (i) "strong in wisdom", realizing omniscience in 20 incalculable aeons plus 100,000 aeons;
- (ii) "strong in faith", realizing omniscience in 40 incalculable aeons plus 100,000 aeons;
- (iii) "strong in energy", realizing omniscience in 80 incalculable aeons plus 100,000 aeons.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the introduction to the *Saddharma Ramāvāyāya*, composed by Dharmasena Thera in the 13th century: Ranjini Obeyesekere (tr.), *Jewels of the Doctrine*, Albany, 1991, p. 2. The concept is worked into the narrative in a manner that implies it would be familiar to the readers.

<sup>42</sup> Not knowing Burmese, I have only one example to offer: P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama*, Vol. I, repr. Varanasi, 1979, pp. 6–7, 16–17. This is a translation of a Burmese work entitled *Tathāgata-udāna* (Vol. I, Preface, p. xv) which is based on the Pāli *Mālaṅkāra-vatthu* (?) (see Vol. II, p. 149, n. 11, and p. 151).

<sup>43</sup> Sao Sāimōng Mangrāi, *The Pādaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle Translated*, Ann Arbor, 1981, pp. 99–100. There is some confusion in the figures.

<sup>44</sup> *Traibhūmi chabap lanna*, Chiang Mai University, 2524 [1981], *phuk ton*, pp. 1–14; *Tannan Mūlasāsana*, Bangkok, 2518 [1975], pp. 1–2, 17–18, etc.

I have not found this theory in Pāli. It is found in a number of Central Thai texts,<sup>45</sup> and in Lanna texts such as the *Paṭhamamūla*.<sup>46</sup>

(6) One final step could be taken, and it was: the number of Buddhas was described as limitless. In the non-canonical *Dasabodhisattuppattikathā*, the Buddha tells Sāriputta that "there have been limitless and countless (*ananāparimāṇā*) noble people in the world who have successively fulfilled the perfections and attained Buddhahood".<sup>47</sup> A similar statement is found in the *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa*, where the Buddha tells Sāriputta that "there have been Buddhas without end (*buddhā anantā ahesuṃ*): I would reach the end of my life before I reached the limit of the enumeration of Buddhas".<sup>48</sup> The apocryphal

<sup>45</sup> Nāgapradīp (ed.), *Sambhāravipāka*, Bangkok, 2504 [1961], pp. 246–47; *Phra Śrī ārya bistār, kaṅḍ 5*, folio 33a; [Somdet Phra Vanarat], *Phra Mahāpurusaḷakṣaṇa*, Bangkok, 2504 [1961], pp. 34–35; *Phra Śrīvisuddhisobhana* (Vilāsa Nāgaparav, P. Dh. 9), *Munināthadīpani*, Bangkok, 2516 [1973], pp. 37–46; Gaṇa Sahāydharm, *Phra Śrī-āryamettrai*, Bangkok, 2535 [1992], pp. 8–10.

<sup>46</sup> *Paṭhamamūla*, in *Lokuppatti aruṇavatsūtra paṭhamamūla paṭhamakap lae Mālatantrai*, National Library-Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 115, 152 (the text of the former passage is corrupt, and gives the figures 22, 4, and 80). The *Paṭhamamūla* is another version of the *Paṭhamamūlamūlī* cited above; it is interesting that the two recensions incorporate different versions of the theory. For the origin myth presented in these and related texts, see Emmanuel Guillon, "The Ultimate Origin of the World, or the Mūlā Muh, and Other Mon Beliefs", *Journal of the Siam Society* 79/1 (1991), pp. 22–30.

<sup>47</sup> H. Saddhatissa, *The Birth-Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas and the Dasabodhisattuppattikathā*, PTS, London, 1975, text p. 119, tr. p. 54. (The long introduction [pp. 1–53] gives a valuable survey of sources on past and future Buddhas, although I do not always agree with the Ven. author's conclusions.)

<sup>48</sup> *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa*, text p. 297, tr. p. 337.

*Ākāravatta-sutta* speaks of "Buddhas as many as the sands of many Ganges rivers".<sup>48</sup>

Available archaeological or epigraphic evidence for the development of the Theravādin theory is scanty and late. A Pāli inscription giving a verse list of the 28 Buddhas and dating from the middle of the 11th century was discovered at Thaton in Lower Burma;<sup>49</sup> the verses (known in Ceylon as the *Aṭavisi-pirit*) are incorporated without title into the *Ājānāṭiya-paritta* of the *Twelve Parittas* in the *Royal Chanting Book*.<sup>51</sup> The 28 Buddhas were in full vogue during the Pagan period (11th–12th century), whether in mural or sculptural art or on terracotta tablets.<sup>52</sup> In Lanna art, ornamented carved wooden stands (*phaeng*) were made to hold numbers of small Buddhas: 28, or larger numbers.<sup>53</sup> Larger numbers of Buddhas are also found on tablets of the Pagan period, which depict rows of identical Buddhas totalling 50 or about 100 figures;<sup>54</sup> tablets with 500 Buddhas are known in Siam.<sup>55</sup> Such tablets may well be related to the theories discussed above: one

<sup>48</sup> Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Ākāravattārasutta: An 'Apocryphal' Sutta From Thailand", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35/2-3 (July 1992), § 6, *ane kāya gaṅgāya vālukuppamehi buddhehi*.

<sup>49</sup> G.H. Luce, "The Advent of Buddhism to Burma", in L. Cousins, A. Kunst, and K.R. Norman (eds.), *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht, 1974, p. 133. Cf. also n. 53 (p. 137), which needs confirmation and clarification.

<sup>51</sup> *Suat mant chabap huang*, p. 39.

<sup>52</sup> Thiripyanchi U Mya, *Votive Tablets of Burma*, Part I, pls. 10, 72, 108, 110; Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan*, Vol. III, New York, 1970, pls. 65-67.

<sup>53</sup> *Muang Boran Journal* 14/2 (Apr.-June 1988), pp. 93, 94; *Muang Nan-Boranagadi, Prawatitlat lae Silpa*, Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2530 [1987], pp. 145, 226.

<sup>54</sup> U Mya, pls. 8, 36, and 43, 46, 107, 109, respectively; Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan*, pl. 68.

<sup>55</sup> See *The Silpakorn Journal* 33/3 (July-August 1989), p. 8, found at Wat Chamadevi, Lamphun, dated to the 10th-12th century CE.

might even speculate that the figures 50 or 500 are abbreviated references to the first figure, 512,028, and the figure 100 to the second figure, 1,024,055. Tablets with 55 Buddhas from Wat Mahādhātu in Sukhothai<sup>56</sup> might represent the 55 Buddhas of the 1,024,055 of the second verse; like the 28 of the 512,028, this would be a significant group with its own identity. But these interpretations are by no means certain: texts of about the same period extol the merit gained from reproducing the image of the Buddha, and may also have influenced the tablets.<sup>57</sup> An Old Burmese ink-gloss from Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi at Pagan refers to "past or future Buddhas...be they more in number than the grains in a heap of earth". The Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi has been tentatively dated to "not later than 1200 CE".<sup>58</sup>

In a Burmese inscription from the Tahaite Mokku temple at Pagan, dated 558 or 59 Sakka era (1195 or 96 CE), the concept of a bodhisatta career lasting four incalculables plus 100,000 aeons is incorporated into the dedication. The editors note that "after the fall of Pagan the phrase becomes a *cliché*, many inscriptions beginning with [a similar phrase]. Here we have probably its first appearance in Burmese."<sup>59</sup> In literature a parallel phenomenon is seen in the Pāli *Jinamahānīdāna*,<sup>60</sup> and in the Sinhalese *Saddharma Ratnāvaliya* and

<sup>56</sup> Illustrated in Piriya Krairiksh, "A New Dating of Sukhothai Art", *Muang Boran Journal* 12/1 (Jan.-March 1986), p. 42, fig. 14.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. verses in Richard F. Gombrich, "Kosala-Bimba-Vaṇṇana", in Heinz Bechert (ed.), *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, Göttingen, 1978, pp. 299-302.

<sup>58</sup> Col. Ba Shin, K.J. Whitbread, G.H. Luce, et al., "Pagan, Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi, an Early Burmese Temple with Ink-glosses", *Artibus Asiae* XXXIII/3 (1971), pp. 195, 217 (for dating).

<sup>59</sup> Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce, "Inscriptions of Burma, Portfolio I", *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission* III (1963), pp. 102-7.

<sup>60</sup> *Jinamahānīdāna*, National Library-Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2530 [1987], Vol. I, p. 1.

Lana *Paṭhamamūla* and *Mūlāsāsana* referred to above — the mention of the bodhisatta's career is a formula and not an integral part of the text.

The *Sotatthakī-mahānidāna* is included in a list of books donated to a monastery at Pagan in 1442;<sup>61</sup> a verse from the same text, summarizing the four rebirths of the bodhisatta that directly preceded his first encounter with a Buddha is cited (with some variants) in a Pāli inscription from Bassein, dated to the 15th or 16th centuries.<sup>62</sup> The same text may also be referred to in a Sukhothai inscription from the first half of the 14th century, with reference to future Buddhas.<sup>63</sup> In the modern period, the theory is very much alive: in 1986 a temple called Cetiya Vihāra Sambuddhe enshrining 512,028 Buddhas was constructed in Mae Sot district, Tak, in imitation of the temple at Monywa in Burma referred to above.<sup>64</sup>

### 3.3. The theory of past Buddhas in other Buddhist schools

We have seen above that the concept of a plurality of past and future Buddhas and the list of seven past Buddhas are part of the

<sup>61</sup> Mabel Haynes Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, [London, 1909] Rangoon, 1965, § 95, p. 104; G.H. Luce and Tin Htway, "A 15th Century Inscription and Library at Pagan, Burma", in O.H. de A. Wijesekera (ed.), *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume*, Colombo, 1976, § 95, p. 229.

<sup>62</sup> Mons. Charles Duroiselle, "Bassein", *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1929-30* (repr. Delhi, 1990), pp. 158-60; cf. *Sotatthakī-mahānidāna* verse 23. A similar verse is found in the *Sambhāravipāka* (S. Thammaphakdi, Bangkok, 2504, p. 28).

<sup>63</sup> *Prachumsilacharak*, Vol. I, Bangkok, 2467, p. 48: lines 38-39 of face 2, *mahānidāna*; Prasert Na Nagara and A.B. Griswold, *Epigraphic and Historical Studies*, Bangkok, 1992, No. 10, pp. 371-72; introduction to *Sotatthakī-mahānidāna*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>64</sup> Supamat Kasem, "A unique temple with half a million Buddha images", *Bangkok Post*, Vol. XL1 No. 235, Section Three, Monday, August 25, 1986.

common Buddhist heritage. In order to place the development of the Theravādin theory in a broader context, I will briefly describe the theories of some other schools. In contrast to the theory of four (or the later figure of 20) incalculables plus 100,000 aeons of the Theravādins, a basic figure of three incalculables was adhered to by the Vaibhāṣikas of Kashmir, the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Sāmmatiyas, and some Mahāyānists. Since the scriptures of most of the "18 Buddhist schools" are lost, our information about the overall development of Buddhism in India is incomplete. In the present case, we have access to the texts of the schools mentioned above, plus those of the Lokottaravādin branch of the Mahāsaṃghikas for some points.

#### 3.3.1. The Vaibhāṣika and Mūlasarvāstivādin theory of past Buddhas

Daśabalaśrimitra quotes a text of the Vaibhāṣikas of Kashmir, which describes Sakyamuni's service to 75,000 Buddhas in the first incalculable aeon, 76,000 in the second, and 77,000 in the third. Verses with the same figures are found in the *Bhāṣajayavastu* of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.<sup>65</sup> The three incalculable aeons were followed by a period of 91 lesser aeons during which Sakyamuni served a number of other Buddhas.<sup>66</sup> The *Bhāṣajayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* gives a verse description of the bodhisatta's past lives under various Buddhas, and the acts of worship or service that he performed for each; this is followed by a prose list of the names of 60 past Buddhas.

<sup>65</sup> Q1030, Vol. 41, ge 254b6 foll.

<sup>66</sup> Daśabalaśrimitra 37b3 foll. For these sources, see the discussion in E. Obermiller (tr.), *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung)* by Bu-ston, Part I, Heidelberg, 1931, pp. 102-4. The figure 91 refers to the fact that Vipassin arose 91 aeons before Sakyamuni.

### 3.3.2. The Sāmmatiya theory of past Buddhas

Daśabalaśrimitra reports the theory of the Sāmmatiya school as follows:

According to the Sāmmatiya school, "The present Sakyamuni served 77,000 Buddhas in the first incalculable [aeon], starting with the former Buddha Sakyamuni; in the second incalculable he served 76,000 Buddhas, and in the third incalculable he served 75,000, ending with the Buddha Indradhvaja. He then realized true and complete enlightenment (*samyaksambodhi*)."<sup>67</sup>

The Sāmmatiya figures agree with those of the Vaibhāṣikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins, except that the order is reversed. The total is the same: they agree that as a bodhisatta Sakyamuni served 228,000 Buddhas over a period of three incalculable aeons, to which the Vaibhāṣikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins add a period of 100 aeons (in general, but in the case of Sakyamuni only 91).

### 3.3.3. The Lokottaravādin theory of past Buddhas

The Buddhology of the Lokottaravādins is given in two sections of the *Mahāvastu*.<sup>68</sup> Many past Buddhas are listed in succession by name; various details are given, including the relationship of some of them to Sakyamuni as a bodhisatta. Several texts or layers of text seem to be conflated, and it is difficult to detect a coherent system in the mass of names and aeons. There is, however, a list of 16 past Buddhas

<sup>67</sup> Daśabalaśrimitra 37b1.

<sup>68</sup> *Mahāvastu* I 32–44; III 300–331. For an English translation see J.J. Jones (tr.), *The Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, London, [1949] 1973, pp. 39–52; Vol. III, London, [1956] 1978, pp. 219–39.

(including Sakyamuni), similar to those found in the *Mahāśīlavana-sūtra*, the *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarika-sūtra*, and the Chinese \**Abhiniskramaṇa-sūtra*.<sup>69</sup> Elsewhere Sakyamuni tells Mahāmaudgalyāyana that as a bodhisatta he worshipped countless Buddhas.<sup>70</sup>

### 3.3.4. The Mahāyāna and past Buddhas

Adherents of the Mahāyāna accepted the literature of the Śrāvaka schools, subjecting it to new interpretations. They generally agreed that the bodhisatta's career lasted three incalculable aeons; a second theory gave the figure 33,<sup>71</sup> while the great Tibetan scholar Bu ston Rinpoche discusses theories of 3, 7, 10, and 33 as found in various Indian texts.<sup>72</sup> Numbers of past Buddhas are mentioned in the vast Mahāyāna sūtra literature. As seen above, the *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarika* lists 14 past Buddhas; the *Lalitavistara* lists 55 (or, in the Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa, 48);<sup>73</sup> both lists end with the well-known seven past Buddhas (who always retained their popularity in the Mahāyāna, as in the Śrāvaka schools). The *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* describes Sakyamuni's meeting with various past Buddhas,<sup>74</sup> and mention of individual Buddhas connected with Sakyamuni in the (often very distant) past are scattered throughout the Mahāyāna sūtra literature.

<sup>69</sup> *Mahāvastu* III 318,9–319,3; *Mahāśīlavana*, Derge edition of the Tibetan *Kanjur* no. 562, *rgyud pha*, 138b7 foll.; for the last two texts see Yamada, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 126, n. 2 and Jan Nattier, *Once upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*, Berkeley, 1991, p. 83 and n. 70. The *Mahāvastu* and *Mahāśīlavana* give 16 Buddhas, including Sakyamuni. The \**Abhiniskramaṇa* gives 15, the *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarika* 14, both excluding Sakyamuni, who is, needless to say, implied.

<sup>70</sup> *Mahāvastu* I 32,2; cf. also 39,15.

<sup>71</sup> Daśabalaśrimitra 40b6 foll.

<sup>72</sup> Obermiller, Vol. I, pp. 119–27.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Yamada, op. cit., p. 126, n. 2.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted by Bu ston in Obermiller, Vol. I, pp. 125–27.



There are also lists of past Buddhas associated with Buddhas other than Sakyamuni. The *Sukhāvativyūha* lists 80 (in a Sanskrit recension) or 53 (in a Chinese translation) Buddhas who preceded Lokeśvararāja, under whom the future Buddha Amitābha made his vows as the bodhisatta monk Dharmākara.<sup>75</sup> Another 53 Buddhas of the far-distant past are named in the *Sūtra on the Contemplation of the Two Bodhisattvas, King of Healing and Supreme Healer*, translated into Chinese in about 424 CE.<sup>76</sup> The *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* names 1,000 past Buddhas connected with the bodhisattas who will become the 1,000 Buddhas of the "Auspicious Aeon" (*bhadrakalpa*),<sup>77</sup> and the names of another 1,000 past Buddhas are invoked for protection in a sūtra translated into Chinese during the Liang dynasty (502–57).<sup>78</sup>

But no list or lists were held to be authoritative, and there is no evidence that the Mahāyāna developed a single theory of past Buddhas. Even a single text such as the *Sūtra on the Contemplation of the Two Bodhisattvas* referred to above mentions in a single breath the seven Buddhas of the past, the 53 Buddhas, the 1,000 Bhadrakalpa Buddhas, and the 35 Buddhas.<sup>79</sup> (Such anomalies are only to be expected. The Mahāyāna was not a monolithic movement with a single geographical or historical centre; rather, it is a general name applied to diverse streams of thought that developed in far-flung areas of India over many centuries, united primarily by their exaltation of the bodhisatta ideal. Furthermore, some of these streams gave more emphasis to "present Buddhas", such

<sup>75</sup> Soper, 200–201.

<sup>76</sup> *Fo-shuo kuan yao-wang yao-shang erh-p'u-sa ching* (T 1161), tr. in Raoul Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha*, Boulder, 1979, pp. 130–32.

<sup>77</sup> Dharma Publishing, *The Fortunate Aeon: How the Thousand Buddhas Became Enlightened*, Vol. IV, Berkeley, 1986, pp. 1480–1733.

<sup>78</sup> *Kuo ch'ü chuang yen chieh ch'ien fo ming ching* (T 447): Soper 201–2; M.W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Paris, 1928, pp. 380–81.

<sup>79</sup> Birnbaum, p. 133.

as Amitābha or Akṣobhya, or to "transcendental Buddhas" such as Vairocana.) In his commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*, dGe 'dun grub, the First Dalai Lama, states that "according to the Mahāyāna, [the bodhisatta] worshipped limitless Buddhas in each incalculable".<sup>80</sup> A similar idea is found repeatedly in Mahāyāna sūtras, which mention innumerable Buddhas not only of the past but also of the present.

#### 4. The development of the theory of future Buddhas

##### 4.1. Future Buddhas and the Theravāda

We have seen above that, like the Buddhas of the past, the Buddhas of the future are referred to in the plural in the Pāli canon. In the early texts only one future Buddha, Metteyya, is named, and only in one place, in the *Cakkavattisihanāda-sutta*.<sup>81</sup> Later Theravādin texts such as the *Dasabodhisattupatti-kathā*<sup>82</sup> and *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa*<sup>83</sup> give the names and "biographies" of ten future Buddhas, starting with Metteyya; the latter text promises that a person who worships the ten Sambuddhas will not be reborn in hell for 100,000 aeons.<sup>84</sup> The *Sotatthakā-mahānidāna* mentions 510 bodhisattas who will become

<sup>80</sup> *Mzod tig thar lam gsal byed*, Varanasi, 1973, p. 270, 1, *theg chen pas ni grāns med pa re re la yah | sans rgyas dpag tu med pa la bsnen bkur byas par bzod do*.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. *Dighanikāya* III 75–76 and *Dighanikāya-aṭṭhakathā* (Nālandā ed.) II 97.

<sup>82</sup> See H. Saddhatissa, op. cit. For this, the following work, and related literature, see Supphan Na Bangchang, pp. 190–204.

<sup>83</sup> See F. Martini, op. cit. The (unpublished) thesis of Pharn Wong-Uan, *Anāgatavaṃsa* (1980), gives a study, critical edition, and Thai translation of this work.

<sup>84</sup> *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa*, text p. 334, tr. p. 367, *ime dasa ca sambuddhe yo naro pi namassati, kappasatasahassāni nirayaṃ so na gacchati*.

future Buddhas.<sup>85</sup> In the *Dasabodhisattuppatti-kathā*, the Buddha tells Śāriputta that the number of beings who will become Buddhas in future is limitless and countless (*anantāparimāṇā*), and states that he himself cannot count the future Buddhas.<sup>86</sup>

There is even less archaeological evidence for the ten bodhisattas than for the 28 or more Buddhas. A Sukhothai inscription from the time of King Liḍayya (Mahādharmaṛāja I) dated to CE 1361 refers to "Metteyya, etc., the ten bodhisattas";<sup>87</sup> an Ayutthaya period chant lists their names.<sup>88</sup> They are depicted in 18th century Ceylonese painting at the Dambulla caves and at the Malvatta and Kulugammana Rājamaha Vihāras in Kandy District.<sup>89</sup> The wish to become a Buddha in the future occurs in inscriptions and colophons. A Pagan period terracotta tablet records the aspiration to become a Buddha of Thera Ānanda;<sup>90</sup> the Sukhothai period monk Śrīsaddhā performs a successful "act of truth" (*saccakīriyā*), starting "If it is true that I shall attain omniscience and become a Buddha..."<sup>91</sup> King Liḍayya also was "fully

<sup>85</sup> *Sotatthakī-mahānīdāna* v. 629 (text p. 96), *dasuttarā pañcasatā bodhisattā samuhatā*. I am not certain of the derivation here of *samuhatā*, but the figure is clear. The phrase is spoken by the Buddha in answer to a question put by Ānanda, "How many [bodhi]sattas have you predicted?"

<sup>86</sup> *Dasabodhisattuppatti-kathā*, tr. p. 54, text p. 119.

<sup>87</sup> *Prachumbodhisattupatti-kathā*, Vol. I, p. 103: lines 12–13 of face 3, *ariyametteyyādānaṃ dasannam bodhisattānaṃ*.... See also Prasert and Griswold, *Epigraphic and Historical Studies*, No. 11, pt. 1, pp. 424 foll. (repr. from *The Journal of the Siam Society* 61/1).

<sup>88</sup> Supaphan Na Bangchang, pp. 195–96.

<sup>89</sup> H. Saddhatissa, pp. 20–21 and plates I and II.

<sup>90</sup> Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan* III, pl. 68, *ānandattherena kataṃ rūpaṃ | tena buddho homi*.

<sup>91</sup> Prasert and Griswold, op. cit., p. 392.

resolved to become a Buddha".<sup>92</sup> Such aspirations could not be made if the number of future Buddhas was not held to be open.

#### 4.2. Future Buddhas and other Buddhist schools

The cult of Metteyya or Maitreya was accepted by all known Buddhist schools. I have not found any lists of future Buddhas in the works of the Vaibhāṣikas, Mūlasarvāstivādins, or Sāmmatīyas. The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* and *Śayanāsanavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* name only one future Buddha, Maitreya.<sup>93</sup> In the first decade of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Avadānaśataka*, the Buddha predicts the future Buddhahood of ten individuals, but these are only examples, and are not meant to make up a definitive list. The number of future Buddhas is open.

Daśabalaśrīmitra reports that "according to some, five Buddhas arise in this very 'Auspicious Aeon' (*bhadrakalpa*); according to others, 500; and according to still others, 1,000".<sup>94</sup> Interlinear notes in the Peking edition attribute the first theory to the Sthaviras, the second to the Sāmmatīyas, and the third to the Mahāyāna.<sup>95</sup> While the first and last are amply confirmed by other sources, the ascription of 500 Bhadrakalpa Buddhas to the Sāmmatīyas cannot be confirmed.

Three Sarvāstivādin texts in the Central Asian language of Uighur refer to 500 Bhadrakalpa Buddhas. Two of these are Maitreya

<sup>92</sup> Prasert and Griswold, pp. 496–97.

<sup>93</sup> *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, loc. cit., *Śayanāsanavastu*, p. 30.

<sup>94</sup> Daśabalaśrīmitra 42b5.

<sup>95</sup> The notes are not found in the Derge edition ("Kammapa Reprint", *dbu ma ha*, 139b6–7).

texts of the *Maitrisimit* class,<sup>96</sup> while one is a confessional text for laity.<sup>97</sup> Two commentaries by two different authors on two different sections of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* give the same figure. The *Vinayavastu-ṭīkā*, a commentary on the *Vinayavastu* by the Sūtra Expert (*sūtradhara*) Kalyāṇamitra, states that "Fortunate Aeon is a classification of time (*kālavāṣeṣa*): it is auspicious because in it 500 Tathāgatas arise". The *Vinayavibhaṅga-padavyākhyāna*, a commentary on the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga* by Vinītadeva, states that "a great Fortunate Aeon is a beautiful aeon (*sundara-kalpa*), because in it 500 Buddhas arise".<sup>98</sup> The *Ch'i fo fu-mu hsing-tzu ching*, a recension of the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* of unknown school which was translated into Chinese between 240–54 CE, states that "in this *bhadrakalpa* there will be a full 500 Buddhas".<sup>99</sup> Since adherents of the 500 Bhadrakalpa Buddhas would agree that four Buddhas, including Sakyamuni, have already arisen, this means that 496 Buddhas are yet to come, starting with Maitreya.

The *Bahubuddha-sūtra* of the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṃghika Lokottaravādins names only Maitreya,<sup>100</sup> but elsewhere the *Mahāvastu*

<sup>96</sup> Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*, Asian Humanities Press, Berkeley, 1991, n. 30, pp. 23–24, referring to Sinasi Tekin (ed., tr.), *Maitrisimit*, Vol. 1, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1980, p. 44, 11–16 (not seen); *Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya: die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hāmī-Version der Maitrisimit*, in Zusammenarbeit mit Helmut Eimer und Jens Peter Laut herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Geng Shimin und Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, Teil I, Wiesbaden, 1988, p. 75.

<sup>97</sup> Nattier, loc. cit. referring to Jan Nattier (ed., tr.), *Ksanti qilmag nom bitig, An Uighur Confession Text for Laity*, unpublished manuscript, 1974 (not seen).

<sup>98</sup> Q5616, Vol. 122, 'dul 'grel vu, 85b7.

<sup>99</sup> Nattier, loc. cit.

<sup>100</sup> *Mahāvastu* III 319, 3; 323, 4; 327, 4; 328, 4.

states that 1,000 Buddhas arise in the Auspicious Aeon.<sup>101</sup> The names of 1,000 future Buddhas are invoked in a sūtra translated into Chinese in the first half of the 6th century.<sup>102</sup> This figure was widely disseminated in the literature of the Mahāyāna, for example in such perennially popular sūtras as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*.<sup>103</sup>

### 5. A solution to the *Sambuddhe* riddle?

Now, after a detour of several aeons, we may return to the *Sambuddhe* verses. The texts agree that the Buddha Sakyamuni is an example of the first type of bodhisatta:<sup>104</sup> that is, his career lasted either four or twenty incalculable aeons plus 100,000 aeons. Since in traditional Buddhism the career of a bodhisatta or the acts of a Buddha are stereotyped — what applies to one applies to all — all bodhisattas of the first type should presumably, like Sakyamuni, encounter 512,028 Buddhas. That figure in the first verse may therefore represent either the number of Buddhas honoured by Sakyamuni, or by the first type of

<sup>101</sup> *Mahāvastu* III 437, 10. The text here is confused, and contains several lacunae. While the mention of 1,000 Buddhas might be an interpolation, it is followed by an incomplete description of the extent of the radiance of a number of Bhadrakalpa Buddhas, past and future; this suggests that at least the later Lokottaravādins accepted the figure. The names of the future Buddhas do not agree with those given in the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*. See Jones' notes in *The Mahāvastu*, Vol. III, p. 322.

<sup>102</sup> *Wei lai hsing su chieh ch'ien fo ming ching* (T 448): see de Visser p. 381.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Soper pp. 200–202, Nattier, loc. cit., and references and discussion in Peter Skilling, "Buddhist Literature: Some Recent Translations" (particularly the review of *The Fortunate Aeon*), *The Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 80/1 (1992).

<sup>104</sup> See, for example, *Jinakālamāli* 1, 26–2, 1, *amhākaṃ bhagavā kappasatasahasādhikāni cattāri asaṅkheyyāni pāramiyo pūretvā buddhabhāvaṃ patto paññādhiko nāma paññindriyassa balavattā*.

bodhisatta in general.<sup>105</sup> It follows that the figure 1,024,055 of the second verse could refer to the second type of bodhisatta, and the figure 2,048,109 of the third verse to the third type of bodhisatta, since the multiples are similar. In the (apocryphal) *Arunavati-sutta*, the past Buddha Sikhī is said to have fulfilled the perfections for eight incalculable aeons plus 100,000 aeons; this means he was a bodhisatta of the second type.<sup>106</sup> In the *Jinākālamāṭī*, Dīpaṅkara, Purāṇasakyamuni (plus several other past Buddhas), and Metteyya, the next Buddha, are described as bodhisattas of the third type. Thus, the three figures of the *Sambuddhe* verses might well refer to the number of Buddhas encountered by the three types of bodhisattas of the past, present, and future. I have not, however, found a text to support this.

When and where were the *Sambuddhe* verses composed? At present I cannot suggest an answer. If the Burmese version, which refers to only 512,028 Buddhas, is the original, it could have been composed by the 11th century, by which time the idea of the "longer career" lasting 20 incalculable aeons seems to have appeared. Further research into Ceylonese, Burmese, Mon, and Shan sources, both epigraphic and literary, must be conducted before even an approximate date for the two higher figures can be suggested.

The tradition reported by such texts as the *Sotatthakīmahānīdāna* is the final and most developed theory of the Theravādins. The number of past Buddhas served by Sakyamuni as a bodhisatta surpasses that given by other Śrāvaka schools, as does the

<sup>105</sup> Since the Burmese version gives only the first figure, and since the extra line places the Buddhas in the past, that version might refer only to the Buddhas honoured by Sakyamuni.

<sup>106</sup> *Arunavati-sutta* in *Lokupatti arunavati*... (see n. 46) p. 43,8, *sikkhī bodhisatta kappasatasahasassādhikāni attha asamkheyyāni pāramiyo pūretvā*....

duration of his career, even in its shortest and earliest form as four aeons.<sup>107</sup> Similarly, the Theravādins adopted a theory of ten perfections (*pārami*) against the six of Śrāvaka schools such as the Vaibhāṣikas, Mūlasarvāstivādins, Sāmmitiyyas,<sup>108</sup> and Lokottaravādins,<sup>109</sup> or of some Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Prajñāpāramitā*. By classifying these under three grades they obtained a total of thirty,<sup>110</sup> again surpassing the figures given by the other Śrāvaka schools, and also the mainstream Mahāyāna. On the subject of Buddhism the Theravādins were far from conservative: they seem to have been the most innovative of the known Śrāvaka schools. That this tendency began at an early date is shown by the fact the theories of four aeons and thirty perfections occur in the canonical *Buddhavaṃsa*, by the beginning of the Common Era.

The three figures given in the *Sambuddhe* verses are not final, and the greatest figure of 2,048,109 is not the maximum number of Buddhas of either the past or the future. The figures only represent the number of Buddhas served by the three types of bodhisattas. In the first case, each of the 512,028 Buddhas would, during his own career, have

<sup>107</sup> Note, however, that Vinītadeva's *Nikāyabhedopadarāna-saṅgraha* attributes to the Mūlasarvāstivādins a theory that "a bodhisatta attains [enlightenment] in from ten to thirty incalculable aeons" (Q5641, Vol. 127, u 190a4, *byan chub sems dpa' ni bskal pa graṅs med pa bcu phan chad nas sum cu tshun chad k'ys 'grubo*). If this reference can be confirmed by other sources, it would suggest a development parallel to that seen in the Theravādin school.

<sup>108</sup> See Daśabalasāmītra 171a8, "great bodhisattas, after cultivating the six perfections for three incalculable aeons...realize enlightenment" (*byan chub sems dpa' chen po rnam ni skal pa graṅs med gsum du pha rol tu phyin pa drug spyad pas...yaṅ dag par rdozgs pa'i saṅs rgyas su 'gyur ro*).

<sup>109</sup> *Mahāvastu* III 302,3.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa* I 76-77 (PTS ed. p. 6); *Apadāna, Buddhāpādāna, Mahāmaṅgalajāyavidyālaya* ed. (Vol. 32) p. 2,2. For a thorough study of the *pāramis*, see H.R.H. Princess Mahā Chakri Sirindhorn, *Dasapārami in Theravāda Buddhism (Dasapārami nai buddhasāsanātheravād, in Thai)*, Bangkok, 2525 [1982].

served either 512,028, 1 million plus, or 2 million plus Buddhas, and each of those Buddhas would, in the course of their own quests for enlightenment, have done the same, in each case depending on the type of bodhisatta. The same may be said for future Buddhas. Thus the number of Buddhas implied by the *Sambuddhe* verses stretches towards infinity in both past and future. This late Theravādin Buddhology is reflected in other chants, such as in the lines that follow the verses of homage to the seven Buddhas in the *Āṅānāṭṭiya-paritta*: *ete c' ariṇe ca sambuddhā anekasatākoṭṭayo*, "these and other Sambuddhas, many thousands of millions".<sup>111</sup> As seen above the Burmese *Sambuddhe-gāthā* adds a line referring to limitless Buddhas, compared to whom the number of grains of sand in the Ganges River is insignificant.

The Theravādin theory seems to describe a full circle, from the open plurality of past and future Buddhas of the earliest texts to the open infinity of past and future Buddhas of the latest texts. The "infinity" of Buddhas is implied but unstated in the earliest, pan-Buddhist theory: in a Saṃsāra that has no beginning or end there must arise in succession Buddhas without beginning or end. The "infinity" of Buddhas completes the idea of the earliest texts by expressing what was left unsaid. It does not contradict the various numbers of Buddhas, past or future, given by the Theravādin or other schools: such figures refer in all cases to specific groups of Buddhas in relation to other Buddhas or to certain periods of time (as, for example, the 512,028 Buddhas served by Sakyamuni), and

<sup>111</sup> *Suat mant chabap luang*, pp. 21.2, 40.1. In the latter, the verse comes at the end of the *Atavisi-pirit* verses discussed above. Luce's transcription of the last line of the Pāli, *etesañeva sambuddhā anekasatāko...* (the text continues in old Mon) suggests that the inscription included this verse, which is not found in the modern printed versions available to me. This would date the verse to the 11th century.

are not in themselves final. The figures only make sense when the number of Buddhas is seen to be open.

Theravādin scholars are often uncomfortable about the later, developed Buddhology. Ven. Dhammānanda notes that the "longer career" of the bodhisatta—and hence the numbers of Buddhas given in the *Sambuddhe-gāthā*—need not be accepted, since it is not found in the Tipiṭaka or the Aṭṭhakathā; he further suggests that such theories do not conform to the Mahāvihāra, and might derive from the Abhayagiri. If I have described these theories as Theravādin in this article, it is because they are presented in Pāli works transmitted only (as far as we know) within the Theravādin Vinaya lineage. It is sometimes suggested that the theories derive from Mahāyāna influence, but the evidence is against this. The Buddhas arise serially, in succession: only one Buddha arises at a time; never, as in the Mahāyāna, do multiple Buddhas exist in the present. Only five Buddhas arise in the Auspicious Aeon. There is no hint of Mahāyāna doctrines such as the ten levels (*daśabhūmi*) of a bodhisatta or the three bodies (*trikāya*) of a Buddha, and the description of the career of a bodhisatta—whether as four incalculables plus 100,000 aeons or more—or of the three types of bodhisatta are unique to the Theravādins, as are the numbers of past Buddhas, from the figure 28 of the *Buddhavaṃsa* upwards. Furthermore, the Theravādin theories bear no formal resemblance to those of the other Śrāvaka schools. Direct copying or imitation of other Śrāvaka schools or of the Mahāyāna may therefore be ruled out.

Certainly, however, there would have been mutual influence, since no school existed in isolation. Some of the past Buddhas stand out as common to several lists. The theories of the different schools have a common origin in the sense that, during the several centuries on either side of the beginning of the Common Era, there seems to have been a preoccupation with the past lives of the Buddha and the path to

Buddhahood: that is, the bodhisatta career. During this period the bodhisatta theories of these schools, including the Theravādins, were formulated; during this period the Mahāyāna began to take shape—not as the initiator of the theories of the bodhisatta career, but as a result of the speculation on that subject.

At any rate, the *Sambuddhe* verses are concerned with power and protection, and not with philosophy or Buddhological speculation. Their efficacy derives from the large number of Buddhas invoked, and, although this is unstated, from the *pāramī* of Sakyamuni or other bodhisattas who honoured or will honour Buddhas of these numbers during the many aeons of their bodhisatta careers. The concept of protection against calamity derived from the recitation of the name or epithets of the Buddha is an old one. It is enshrined, for example, in the ancient and canonical *Dhajagga-sutta*, a popular *paritta* in which the Buddha recommends the recitation of the *tū pi so* formula as a protection against fear. Other canonical *parittas* derive their power from the recitation of the names of *pacceka-buddhas*, as in the *Isigili-sutta*,<sup>112</sup> or of various deities, as in the *Mahāsamaya* and *Ātānāṭiya Suttas*, as do non-canonical *parittas* such as the *Mahādibbamanta* and the *Uppātasanti*. The power of texts like the *Ākāravatta-sutta* and the *Yot phrakantratpīdok* stems from combinations of the *tū pi so* formula with the concept of *pāramī*.<sup>113</sup> The invocation of the “power of the name”

<sup>112</sup> *Majjhimanikāya* 116, Vol. III, *Uparipannāsa*. Note that at the end the text seems to recommend that homage be paid “to these and other mighty *pacceka-buddhas* ...without limit” (PTS ed. p. 71.3, *ete ca aññe ca mahānubhāvā paccekabuddhā...parinibbute vandatha appameyye*). I.B. Horner (*The Middle Length Sayings* III, London, 1967, p. 113), interprets the passage as “praise all these immeasurable great seers who have attained final nibbāna”.

<sup>113</sup> For these texts, and for *paritta* in general, see Peter Skilling, “The Rakṣā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna”, *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* XVI (1992), pp. 116–24.

occurs in Mahāyāna sūtras such as the sūtras on the 1,000 past and 1,000 future Buddhas referred to above (there is also a parallel sūtra on the 1,000 present Buddhas). The *Names of 5,453 Buddhas*, a text preserved in Tibetan translation, names that many Buddhas, who are not placed in time or space; verses at the end promise protection.<sup>114</sup> The *Sambuddhe* verses may be unique in invoking the power of the largest number of Buddhas in the fewest words.

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<sup>114</sup> *Saṅs rgyas kyi mtshan lha ston bzhi brgya lha bcu rtsa gsum pa*, Q928 (Vol. 36), *mdo zu*. The text, which has no translators' colophon or *nidāna*, consists entirely of names, often long and awkward, in the formula “homage to...”, concluding with twelve lines of verse spoken by the Buddha. The colophon to the Stog Palace edition (§ 95) notes that the transmission of the text was confused. A Chinese parallel (T 443) was translated in 594 A.C. For the invocation of the names of the Buddha, see *Hōbōgirin* III 209–10 (Butsumyō6).

## CASE HISTORIES FROM THE PĀLI CANON I:<sup>1</sup>

### THE SĀMAÑÑAPHALA SUTTA HYPOTHETICAL CASE HISTORY OR HOW TO BE SURE TO WIN A DEBATE

#### Case histories in contemporary psychology

It has been observed "that the great novels are source books for psychologists, or that they are case histories (i.e. illustrative, typical examples)."<sup>2</sup>

What is a case history?

In Western psychology, case histories are defined as follows:

"a compilation of information which includes all available data on background, test results, interviews, ratings, diagnoses, etc., concerning an individual subject of a study. The case-history method is most frequently utilized ... for the practical purpose of diagnosis and prognosis. However, after the study of a number of individual cases, the clinician or sociologist may formulate theoretical principles or generalisations about some aspect of behaviour."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These investigations were supported by the Foundation for Research in the field of Theology and the Science of Religions in the Netherlands, which is subsidized by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.), and in part constitute Chapters VI and VII of my doctoral dissertation, *Debates and Case Histories in the Pali Canon*, Utrecht, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Wellek and Warren, 1966 : 35.

<sup>3</sup> Chaplin, 1975 : s.v. "case history".

"A record of an individual's experience, illnesses, education, environment, treatment, and, generally, all facts relevant to the particular problems involved in a medical or clinical case."<sup>4</sup>

The case history method is explained,

" .. This biographical method was developed and refined predominantly by the proponents of psychoanalysis .. as an instrument of research; to the analysis of life they added the investigation of experience. Case histories can be interpreted either qualitatively or quantitatively. The qualitative interpretation corresponds to the research approach of the psychology of "understanding" .. and thus psychoanalysis or depth psychology ... too."<sup>5</sup>

The case history is thus an account of significant events in a person's life recorded for a particular reason and different types of case history will be produced for example by historians, sociologists, doctors or psychotherapists. Here we are concerned only with the type of case history produced by psychologists, psychotherapists, psychoanalysts, medical teachers, and so forth.

The psychological case history sets out to address both practical and theoretical problems. Its starting point is the compilation of information. This information will include as much detail about the person's past as is relevant. It is collected so that the therapist can make a diagnosis of the client's present state, a prognosis: "a prediction of the outcome of a particular condition, including some indication of its

<sup>4</sup> Drever, 1964 : s.v. "case history".

<sup>5</sup> Eysinck, 1975 : s.v. "case history method".

expected duration, severity, and probably final status";<sup>6</sup> and plan a course of therapy.

The second feature of a case history is regular assessment. The evolution of the case is recorded and diagnoses and prognoses are reviewed and kept up to date. This is the therapist's means of keeping track of the changes the client is going through. Fundamental here is the therapist's expectation that during the course of the treatment the client will enter a process within which he will make progress through certain stages, and reach a defined goal. The third feature concerns generalisations that may be made after the study of a number of individual case histories. These are especially interesting as they are, in fact, *hypothetical case histories*. They predict the stages a person will go through in his life and in his therapy. Among the most famous examples of these in contemporary psychology are Freud's oral, anal and phallic stages, Erikson's eight ages of man,<sup>7</sup> Grof's Basic Perinatal Matrices,<sup>8</sup> and Wilbur's Spectrum of Consciousness.<sup>9</sup> The second definition mentions specifically medical or clinical cases, but Grof, for example, or Wilbur, could be regarded as providing *spiritual* hypothetical case histories, i.e. hypothetical case histories concerning the evolution of the Soul or of the Self, or of the Higher Self, or of the Not-self, depending on the word one chooses to use. These spiritual hypothetical case histories are, at the same time, paths to Enlightenment, however this "Enlightenment" is defined.

<sup>6</sup> Chaplin, 1975 : s.v. "prognosis".

<sup>7</sup> Basic Trust v. Basic Mistrust; Autonomy v. Shame and Doubt; Initiative v. Guilt; Industry v. Inferiority; Identity v. Isolation; Generativity v. Stagnation; Ego Integrity v. Despair. Erikson, 1965

<sup>8</sup> Grof 1975 : 102-103; 1985 : 103-105.

<sup>9</sup> Wilbur, 1977; 1980.



## Case histories in Buddhist psychology

Buddhist psychology presents itself as a psychology of Enlightenment.<sup>10</sup> Among the theoretical aspects of this psychology are those concerned with certain defined states of consciousness and stages of attainment, the methods that will lead to achieving them, and the obstacles that may stand in the way. Whenever soteriological methods are described, they are shown to result in psychological processes, viz, sequences of mental acts of understanding or sequences of affective states or a combination of these or the attainment of trance states (*jhāna*). Particular processes lead to defined states or stages of attainment. The texts have a large variety of ways of presenting these processes, states and stages. Several schemas of stages exist side by side. No convincing mapping of one schema to the other, however, nor any discussion of the relationships between schemas is provided. One problem with which we are faced, therefore, is that of the relationship between these various systems of stages and sequences of states and processes.

Three different types of Case histories occur in these texts: (1) case histories of Buddhas, (2) hypothetical case histories, (3) actual case histories of converts and disciples. Among the case histories of Buddhas are the standard case history for Buddhas, that of Vipassī (DN 14), and the historical Buddha's case history:<sup>11</sup> rather self-evidently the former is there to authenticate the latter. A hypothetical case history is a standard account of what the Buddha predicts will happen to somebody who follows his method. It describes the developmental process through which the serious practitioner who follows the method is likely to go. It describes how he is expected to develop in terms of cognitive and affective factors, particular experiences and insights, the acquisition of

<sup>10</sup> Manné-Lewis, 1986 : 126.

<sup>11</sup> See Bareau, 1970 for an attempt to differentiate the mythical from the historical material.

new abilities and the attainment of the Altered States of Consciousness<sup>12</sup> whose sequential attainment is predicted upon the practice of the Buddha's method. It presents the general case, and provides the theoretical basis for a diagnosis. Most case histories come within this category. Actual case histories of converts and disciples, which unfortunately occur rather rarely, tell what happened to supposedly historical individuals through their practice of the Buddha's method. They occur most frequently in Consultations.<sup>13</sup> In these situations the progress and attainments of a given individual are diagnosed and discussed, in personal interviews with the Buddha, or by the Buddha with other monks. These personal case histories contain brief information about the practitioner's background in the form of the religious or social group to which he belongs. They provide some sort of description of his present state and problems. They contain the counselling that was offered and the progress he made using it. These case histories provide an interesting and important contrast with the ideal or hypothetical model. They illustrate the human element, the individual problems encountered by individuals trying to follow the way.

The case histories face us with particular problems. Buddhist literature, as well as attempting to be an accurate record of the Buddha's Teaching, is propaganda. It is propaganda both for the purpose of attracting new converts and for the purpose of promulgating the Buddha's Teaching.<sup>14</sup> Case histories are both demonstrations of the Buddha's method in action and proof of its efficacy. Many questions have to be asked about them. These include what purpose the individual case histories (of whatever type) serve in their contexts, and whether the different types of case history serve different purposes. Hypothetical case histories especially face us with the problem concerning the extent to

<sup>12</sup> See Tart, 1969; 1975.

<sup>13</sup> See Manné, 1990 : 61, Consultations.

<sup>14</sup> Manné, 1990 : 72-81.

which they genuinely relate to the actual experiences of any real practitioner. On the question of method, case histories show where the texts are consistent or otherwise in their presentation of the relationship between method and achievement. They confront us with the fact that there were several alternative developmental possibilities, each leading to its own particular set of achievements before arriving at the same final goal. On the question of processes of development, case histories confront us with the problem of the mutual relationship between the various sequences and stages of development. The case histories face us with particular problems but they also provide us with the means to solve them. They are presented in the texts in a highly schematised way and so they can be collected and collated, anomalies can be discerned, the problems referred to above appear in clear relief, and explanations are possible.

The *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Samyutta* and *Anguttara Nikāyas* within the poetry of the Thera and Therīgatha, are the texts, that contain the case histories. There are no case histories in the *Abhidhamma* texts except for the *Puggalapaññatti*, and very few in the *Vinaya*. Certain types of case histories occur only in certain genres of suttas. I have chosen two frequently occurring case histories for this study.

## THE SĀMAÑÑAPHALA SUTTA HYPOTHETICAL CASE HISTORY - OR HOW TO BE SURE TO WIN A DEBATE

### 1 Introduction

The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (henceforth SPS), paragraphs 40-98, contains a hypothetical case history (henceforth HCH) a standard account of what the Buddha predicts will happen to someone who follows his

method. The formula that I call the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* hypothetical case history (henceforth abbreviated to SPS-HCH) has been much studied.<sup>15</sup> My interest in this formula is in terms of its quality as a case history and in terms of its context: it is so frequently placed within the debate situation.<sup>16</sup> The HCH which the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* contains describes a training towards, and the attainment of, a sequence of soteriological achievements, a process which begins with the attainment of faith in the Tathāgata, and which ends with the attainment of Liberation. We know that this case history is hypothetical because the subject of this case history is introduced by the phrase, "a householder, or the son of a householder, or someone who has come to be reborn in a different group",<sup>17</sup> i.e. any person who may belong to any of these (first two) groups or any other. In other words: the general case. This HCH is repeated in more or less similar form in various places in the *Nikāyas*<sup>18</sup>, but most strikingly in the 11 suttas that follow the SPS in the DN. Schmithausen has already remarked that it does not occur at all in the SN.<sup>19</sup> Because of its location in the Pali texts I will take *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* version as the basic version with which I will compare all of the others. This is simply a convenience, and does not imply in any way that I consider this version to be the original one.<sup>20</sup> Equally it is for convenience that I refer to this genre of hypothetical case history as the SPS-HCH.

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g. Meisig (1987), who has compared the various versions of it; Griffiths (1983), who has attempted a form-critical analysis; MacQueen (1988); etc.

<sup>16</sup> See Manné, 1992.

<sup>17</sup> *gahapati vā gahapati-putto vā aññatarasmim vā kule paccājāto*.

<sup>18</sup> DN, suttas 2 - 23; MN, suttas 27, 38, 51, 76, 79, 101, 112, 125; AN II 208 - 211, V 204 - 209.

<sup>19</sup> Schmithausen, 1981 : 204, fn. 15.

<sup>20</sup> The equivalent of the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* takes a comparable position in the Chinese *Dirghāgama*.

## 2 The textual situations of the Case History genre SPS-HCH

The case history is presented in I.3 below in a schematised form comprising major five stages.

This case history occurs in these 12 DN suttas: the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (2), the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (3), the *Sopadaṇḍa Sutta* (4), the *Kuṭadanta Sutta* (5), the *Mahālī Sutta* (6), the *Jāliya Sutta* (7), the *Kassapa Sthānāda Sutta* (8), the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* (9), the *Subha Sutta* (10), the *Kevaddha Sutta* (11), the *Lohicca Sutta* (12), the *Tevijja Sutta* (13); and in 8 MN suttas: the *Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta* (27), the *Mahātaṇhāsankhaya Sutta* (38), the *Kandaraka Sutta* (51), the *Sandaka Sutta* (76), the *Cūlasakkaludāyī Sutta* (79), the *Devadaha Sutta* (101), the *Chabbisodhana Sutta* (112), the *Dantabhūmi Sutta* (125); and in part in AN II 208 - 211, V 204 - 209. All of the DN examples are more-or-less exact repetitions of the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* version with the exception of the *Tevijja Sutta* which introduces the *brahmavihāras*. For convenience I take the *Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta* (27) as the basic MN sutta with which to compare all of the other MN versions. The principle difference between the DN and the MN versions is that in the MN the many similes are omitted. All of the MN examples are more-or-less exact repetitions of the *Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta* (27), except the *Mahātaṇhāsankhaya Sutta* (MN 38), which follows SPS-HCH up to the *jhānas*, Stage III, and then continues with a different practice or process (HCH) which leads to release through the destruction of craving, *taṇhāsankhayavimutti*. AN ii 208-211 follows MN 27, the MN model sutta, but omits all of Stage IV. AN V 204-209 follows the *jhānas* with the four Āyatanas.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *ākāśānañcāyatana, viññāṇañcāyatana, ākiñcaññāyatana, nevasaññānāsaññāyatana.*

## 3 The developmental schema of the SPS-HCH

I first present the developmental schema of this hypothetical case history, and then, further on in this paper, discuss the psychological process it implies.

This HCH describes a process of development through certain defined stages. I call an entire sequence of stages of development a *developmental schema*.

The DN texts tend to divide this HCH into three parts, while the MN version is briefer and there this schema is not divided into sections. Although the DN is not entirely consistent in its naming of divisions, I will respect the divisions it uses most frequently.<sup>22</sup> I will, however, divide these parts up further for ease of textual comparison, and to make the process of psychological development they describe easier to understand. Those portions that the MN basic sutta, MN 27, has in common with the basic DN sutta, DN 2, are marked with an \* in the schema below. In section I.6.2 I present the MN schema itself. All references unless otherwise specified are to the paragraphs of the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, DN 2. Terms not translated in the schema will be found translated in section 4 below.

### STAGE I The Pre-requisites, called *SĪLA*, "code of morality"

§§ 40 - 63

- \* i Hearing the Dhamma from a Tathāgata, acquiring faith, and going forth (§§ 40, 41)
- \* ii Practising the code of morality, *sīlas* (§§ 43 - 63; \* MN has only §§ 43 - 45)

<sup>22</sup> See Rhys Davids, 1899 : 57ff; Macqueen, 1988 : 279f and Meisig, 1987 for other possibilities.

STAGE II The cultivation of the mind, variously named *CARANA* (DN 3), *PAÑÑĀ* (DN 4), *CITTA* (DN 8), *SAMĀDHI* (DN 10)

§§ 64 - 74

- \* i Guarding the door of the senses, *indriyas* (§ 64)<sup>23</sup>
- \* ii Becoming endowed with *sati* and *sampajañña* (§ 65)
- \* iii Contentment - *santuttha* (§ 66)
- \* iv Appropriate nourishment; seeking isolation (§ 67)
- \* v Abandoning the five hindrances - *nīvaranas*. (§§ 68 - 74;<sup>24</sup> \* MN has only § 68.<sup>25</sup>)

STAGE III Transcending the mind, variously included in *CARANA* (DN 3), *PAÑÑĀ* (DN 4), or *SAMĀDHI* (DN 10), or beginning a section called *SIKKHĀ* (DN I 182). §§ 75 - 82, \* MN has §§ 75, 77, 79, 81<sup>26</sup>

The *jhānas*<sup>27</sup>

- i The first *jhāna* is "accompanied by thought and reflection, born from separation, and consists of joy and bliss."<sup>28</sup>
- ii "The second *jhāna* is the result of appeasing thought and reflection; it is an inner tranquilization, a unification of the mind, free from thought and

<sup>23</sup> DN 9, I 182, may mean that this was considered a stage in itself.

<sup>24</sup> This is the chief characteristic of the *opapātika* in the Four Stages HCH, (see following chapter).

<sup>25</sup> Here and in other places, indicated below, MN consistently omits the similes that so abundantly illuminate the DN version.

<sup>26</sup> Once again omitting the similes.

<sup>27</sup> The translations are paraphrases from Bronkhorst, 1986 : 16f. Bronkhorst translated MN I 247 which I have cited. In this sutta the Buddha is speaking about his experiences. I have kept the translation impersonal.

<sup>28</sup> *sāvītakam savicāram vivekajam pītsukham.*

reflection, consisting of joy and bliss born from concentration."<sup>29</sup>

- iii "The third *jhāna* is reached as a result of detachment from joy, (and through) remaining indifferent, attentive and mindful; it is the bliss experienced with the body which the noble ones describe [in these terms]: 'indifferent, with attentiveness, residing in bliss.'<sup>30</sup>
- iv The fourth *jhāna* is reached "as a result of abandoning bliss, and abandoning pain, and as a result of the earlier disappearance of cheerfulness and dejection; it is free from pain and bliss, the complete purity of equanimity and attentiveness."<sup>31</sup>

STAGE IV Developing the transpersonal Powers, variously named *VIJJĀ* (DN 3) or *PAÑÑĀ* (DN 4, 8, 10)

§§ 83 - 96.

The development of the following sequence of extraordinary abilities:

- i Knowing and seeing, viz. awareness of the material nature of the body (§§ 83, 84).
- ii The capacity to manifest a body through the power of mental intention (§§ 85, 86).
- iii Various *iddhis* (§§ 87, 88).
- iv Clair-audience (§§ 89, 90).

<sup>29</sup> *ajjhattam sampasādanam cetaso ekodhībhāvam aviakkam avicāram samādhijam pītsukham.*

<sup>30</sup> *pītiyā ca virāgā upekkhako ca vhiṣamī sato ca sampajāno, sukhañ ca kāyena paṭisamvedesim yam tam ariyā ācikkhanti: upekkhako satimā sukhavihārī ti.*

<sup>31</sup> *sukhassa ca pahānā dukkhassa ca pahānā pubbe va somanassadomanassānam atthagamā adukkham asukham upekkhāsati pārisuddhīm.*

- v The capacity to deeply understand the heart and mind of others in a defined way (§§ 91, 92).
- \* vi Knowing the details of one's former lives (§§ \*93, 94).
- \* vii Awareness of the transmigrational future of others, including the development of the *dhamma-cakkhu* (§§ \*95, 96).

#### STAGE V Liberation

§§ \*97, 98.

- \* i Knowledge of the destruction of the *āsavas*, in terms of the existence of, the rising of, the ceasing of, and the path to the cessation of both suffering (*dukkhā*) and the *āsavas*.
- \* ii Knowledge that the mind is released from the *āsavas*.
- \* iii Knowing that, according to precisely defined criteria, he has succeeded, viz. *Khīṇā jāni vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇiyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāya*.

#### 4 The quality of the process in the developmental schema

It is easy to see that a very beautiful and alluring process is described here. An ordinary person, no-one particularly special, no-one particularly endowed in any way, hearing the Tathāgata speak, is filled with faith in him, and is inspired and converted by his message. Because of this he changes his mind about the kind of life he has been leading, which has been a domestic life. He perceives that it is limited, and not suitable for one who wants to follow a religious life. He decides to become a monk and commits himself to various practices. He lives according to the restraints of the Pātimokkha, the Vinaya rules, perfect in his practice of right behaviour and perceiving the danger in the minutest

transgression he trains, perfecting himself in the meritorious deeds of body, deed and word. He becomes completely pure in his means of livelihood and perfect in the code of morality (*sīla-sampanna*) - a very extensive and intense training for the most part in behaviour, but also in mental attitudes. He constrains his social behaviour: he refrains from taking life and using violence, stealing, and cheating. He disciplines his verbal behaviour: abstaining from false speech, deceiving others, malicious speech, the kind of gossip that stirs up trouble and disputes, coarse speech, frivolous talk, and arguments of particular types, and he cultivates truthfulness, being reliable and trustworthy, using uplifting speech, speaking at the appropriate time and with the appropriate content, namely *atha*, *dhamma*, and *vinaya*. He disciplines his eating and his dress. He gives away his property. He practises chastity. He gives up playing various games and earning a living in unsuitable ways, for example, through any sort of magic or prediction. He avoids harming any living thing, including seeds and plants.

He takes responsibility for the contents of his mind by cultivating certain mental attitudes: modesty, compassion towards all beings, and positive thinking, in the form of cultivating confidence that he will get the supplies of robes and almsfood that he needs. He is watchful over the doors of his sense faculties (*indriyas*). Thus he prevents covetousness and dejection (*abhijjhā-domannassa*) and other evil and unprofitable (mental) states from overcoming him. He makes himself perfect in awareness over mind and body (*sati, sampajañña*). He attains a state of contentment (*santuttha*). At this point he seeks isolation. He finds a solitary place, adopts the appropriate body posture (by sitting cross-legged with his body erect) and begins his mental practice. Taking mindfulness (*sati*) as his object he sets about purifying his mind by expelling certain tendencies and thought-patterns and replacing them with others. He purifies his mind of covetousness for the world (*abhijjhā*

loke), ill-will (*vyāpāda*), inflexibility (*thina*)<sup>32</sup> and torpor (*middha*), agitation (*udhacca*) and regret (*kukkucca*),<sup>33</sup> and doubt (*vicikicchā*).<sup>34</sup>

At the end of this process, "when he perceives that he has abandoned the five hindrances, delight arises in him, and joy at that delight, and his body calms down through consciousness of that joy, and his calm body feels happy, and the mind of one who is happy is concentrated." From this state he enters the *jhānas*: he experiences the first *jhāna*, "which is accompanied by thought and reflection, born from separation, and consists of joy and bliss"; the second *jhāna*, "which is an inner tranquilization, a unification of the mind, free from thought and recollection, consisting of joy and bliss that is born from concentration"; the third *jhāna*, which is attained through detachment from joy, attentiveness and mindfulness, and in which is experienced the bliss which the noble ones describe as "indifference, with attentiveness, residing in bliss"; the fourth *jhāna*, which is attained "as a result of abandoning bliss, and abandoning pain, [and] as the result of the earlier disappearance of cheerfulness and dejection, [and] which is free from pain and bliss, the complete purity of equanimity and attentiveness."<sup>35</sup>

His mind (*citta*) is now in a particular condition. It is composed, cleansed, pure, free from blemish and without defilement. It is malleable, workable, steadfast, and imperturbable. At this point he cultivates transcendent insights and powers. He applies his mind to knowing and seeing (*ñānadassana*) and thereby he recognises that his body is material (*rūpin*), is composed of the four great elements, comes about through

<sup>32</sup> Frauwallner, 1953 : 166, "Starrheit".

<sup>33</sup> "Reue", Frauwallner, 1953 : 167.

<sup>34</sup> This is the accomplishment of the cultivation of the mind, or Stage II, DN 2, paras 64 - 74.

<sup>35</sup> The translations of the descriptions of the *jhānas* are taken from Bronkhorst, 1986 : 16f but are somewhat freely adapted to fit in with this account of the case history. This is the accomplishment of the transcending of the mind, or Stage III, DN 2, paras 75 - 82.

mother and father, grows/is maintained by boiled rice and sour milk, and that its nature, on account of erosion, abrasion, dissolution and disintegration, is impermanent, and that his consciousness is dependent upon and bound to it. He applies his mind further, to producing a body made through the power of his mind (*manomayaṃ kāyam*). He applies his mind to the modes of psychic power (*iddhi*): he multiplies himself, and re-becomes one; he transplaces himself, physical objects being no obstacle; he passes through the earth, and over the water, he goes through the air; he touches the moon and the sun with his hand; he transports his body to the Brahma world. He applies his mind to clair-audience, hearing both the sounds of gods and of men. He applies his mind to the knowledge that understands the minds of other beings and of other men, so that he recognises in them the presence or absence of passion,<sup>36</sup> blemishes, delusion, attentive or distracted, greatness or littleness, inferiority or peerlessness; concentration or dissipation, and whether the mind is released or otherwise. He applies his mind to the detailed knowledge of his former existences including his pleasant and unpleasant experiences. He acquires clairvoyance, and applies his mind to the knowledge of the decease and rebirth of other beings, recognising in them as they transmigrate according to their deeds whether they are base or of good quality, well or ill-favoured, or in a good or unpleasant reincarnation. He recognises those beings who indulged in mispractices, in body, speech and mind, who spoke against noble people, who held wrong views and attracted the karma and rebirth associated with this. He recognises those beings who practised correctly in body, speech and mind, who did not speak against the enlightened ones, who held right views and attracted the karma and rebirth associated with this.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> See Johansson 1969 and 1979 for some discussion of the terms used here.

<sup>37</sup> This is the accomplishment of the development of the transpersonal powers or Stage IV, DN 2, paras 40 - 62.

He applies his mind to the knowledge of the destruction of the intoxicants (*āsavas*). He recognises correctly Suffering, the arising of Suffering, the cessation of Suffering, and the path leading to the cessation of Suffering. He recognises correctly, "these are the intoxicants, this is the arising of the intoxicants, this is the cessation of the intoxicants, this is the path to the cessation of the intoxicants". He attains the knowledge, that his mind is released from the intoxicant of desire (*kāmasāva*), from the intoxicant of becoming (*bhavāsāva*), and from the intoxicant of ignorance (*avijjāsāva*). He knows that he has attained liberation.<sup>38</sup>

It's inspirational, isn't it? The whole process is made to sound so easy and so simple. The mental states on offer are so highly desirable, and there is no mention of any problems on the way.

## 5 The function of the SPS-HCH in the texts

The hypothetical case history is the coup de grâce, the pièce de résistance, the final word which, somewhat adapted in one way or another to suit the exigencies of the situation, forms the core element in the Buddha's answer to the challenges made by his opponents in the DN dramatic debate suttas DN 2 - 13.<sup>39</sup> In the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (DN 2) it describes the fruit of the life of a *samaṇa*. In the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* (DN 5) it is used to describe the highest sacrifice of all (§ 27). In the *Mahāli Sutta* and the *Jāliya Suttas* (DN 6 & 7) it is used to demonstrate that like the Buddha himself, a bhikkhu who had followed this path and achieved the attainments of Stages III - V would not be concerned with views regarding the relationship between soul (*jīva*) and body (*saṛīra*). In the *Kevalāḍha Sutta* (DN 11) it is the marvel of instruction. In the *Lohicca Sutta* (DN 12) it is the teaching of the teacher who is beyond reproach.

<sup>38</sup> Stage V.

<sup>39</sup> See Manné, 1990.

The SPS-HCH is subdivided or subcategorised according to convenience in order to provide the answer to the challenges of these Debate Suttas. Discussing every instance would serve no purpose, so I will illustrate this exploitation of the SPS-HCH with just two DN examples, the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (3) and the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* (4). Further examples will occur in the ensuing discussion. In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* Stages I - III are taught as *carāṇa* and Stages IV and V as *vijjā* in order to explain to Ambaṭṭha a verse uttered by the Buddha. The origin of this verse is unknown but we may believe it to be brahmanical as the text attributes it to Brahmā Kumāra, the Buddha quotes it while debating with a brahman youth and one part of his line of attack in this debate is to prove that he knows more than either the brahmins or their teachers do about their own religion. This verse claims that it is conduct (*carāṇa*) and wisdom (*vijjā*) that make a man best among gods and men, which accounts for these divisions in this sutta. In the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta*, Stages I and II are taught as *sīla* and Stages III - V as *paññā*, in order to explain the practical meaning of these terms to the brahmins who do not understand their import but know only that these are the essential qualities that make a man a brahman.

Where in the DN the use of this HCH is strictly limited to the dramatic (live) debate situation, in the MN, although this HCH serves the same purpose, i.e. that of winning the debate, the texts are freer in the way they use it. In the *Cūṭahathipadoma Sutta* (MN 27), where it is uttered to complete a simile that compares the four "footprints" of the Buddha to those of an elephant, and thus to bring to a conclusion a debate between the Buddha and Jāṇussoṇi, a brahman, it is the recital of this HCH that brings Jāṇussoṇi to concede defeat.<sup>40</sup> In the *Mahātaṇhāsankhaya Sutta* (MN 38) this HCH is used in part (up to the five hindrances) when a foolish monk is drilled in the Teaching.<sup>41</sup> In the

<sup>40</sup> See Manné, 1990.

<sup>41</sup> A different HCH, i.e. not the SPS-HCH, follows at this point.

*Kandaraka Sutta* (MN 51) it is used to designate a certain character type: the implied debate situation here is that the other types described follow other religious practices (or wrong professions), ascetical or brahman, i.e. they are hypothetical opponents.<sup>42</sup> In the *Sandaka Sutta* (MN 76), Ananda, having won a debate with a group of wanderers through different arguments, and having forced his opponent to question him,<sup>43</sup> uses it to describe what the Buddha teaches. In the *Cūḷa-Sakabudāyī Sutta* it is used to explain why the monks follow the Buddha Teaching. In the *Devadaha Sutta* (MN 101), where it occurs within a reported debate between the Buddha and some Jains, this HCH is the way the Buddha concludes his answer to the Jain position on pain. In the *Chabbisodhana Sutta* (MN 112) the Buddha proclaims that when a monk answers with this HCH, applying it to his own personal process, then his claim to profound knowledge (*aññā*) can be accepted; this may be an attempt by redactors to authenticate this HCH as a process of development. In the *Dantabhūmi Sutta* (MN 125) the Buddha informs a monk who had had no success in a debate with prince Jayasena that this HCH would have been the answer with which to defeat the prince.

<sup>42</sup> See Manné, 1990.

<sup>43</sup> See Witzel, 1987.

## 6 The authenticity of the SPS-HCH as a case history<sup>44</sup>

### 6.1 The question of authenticity

#### *Authenticity and buddhavaṇa*

The first problem to be dealt with on the issue of authenticity is whether we may justifiably believe that the Buddha actually uttered the utterances attributed to him in the texts. What we may justifiably believe depends on evidence. It seems a good idea to say that there is no evidence that could prove that the Buddha ever spoke a word among all of those attributed to him by any text whatever.<sup>45</sup> What we can do is examine the texts on their individual merits and make judgements on the plausibility of their contexts. We can, I think, believe on the evidence that the Buddha engaged in debate with other religious leaders: the texts contain so much information on this subject that it is hard to believe that it is all pure invention, and moreover, there is great consistency of details between the Buddhist and the Vedic tradition.<sup>46</sup> We can, I think, also trust the reciters

<sup>44</sup> The authenticity of various parts of this HCH have been discussed by both Schmidhausen (1981) and Bronkhorst (1986, Chapter VII). Schmidhausen has also paid attention to its plausibility as a psychological process, although I am not sure we know enough about psychological processes to make such a judgment. See, eg. Grof, Wilbur, Tart, etc. for evidence of some rather interesting psychological processes.

<sup>45</sup> "... no text known can be considered contemporaneous with the Buddha. On the contrary, it is well known that all Buddhist texts, as they are read today, are not only heavily influenced by linguistic developments known to be much later than the early days of Buddhism, but also reformulated perhaps, and certainly recast from one language into another before they reached their present linguistic shape." Von Hinüber, 1991.

<sup>46</sup> See Manné, 1990 & 1992.



sufficiently in this case, because it is relatively free of anomalies,<sup>47</sup> and believe that if this passage was not the Buddha's way of winning a debate, then something like it which has suffered changes over time served this purpose.

#### Authenticity and Case Histories

By the term "authenticity" in the context of case histories, I mean whether we may be convinced that any monk, or the Buddha himself, experienced a particular sequence of developmental stages, through the practice of the Buddha's method.

#### 6.2 The authenticity of the individual stages.

Let us consider the ingredients of this case history, considering the authenticity of each of the stages in turn.

##### Stage I

The authenticity of the elements of Stage I, the *sīlas* poses no problem. In the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (S.1) of the DN the Buddha describes Stage I, the *sīlas*,<sup>48</sup> designating the virtues that they contain as those that any ordinary man (*pūthujjana*) is capable of appreciating.<sup>49</sup> This indicates that even the least and most minor religious leader was expected to adhere to this moral code, and that they were, therefore, common to all liberation-oriented religions or spiritual paths of the time.

<sup>47</sup> Unlike the example of the concept of the "lion's roar". See Manné, 1992 : 121, fn.14 and forthcoming.

<sup>48</sup> Paras. 40 - 62 here, = paras. 8 - 27 of the *Brahmajāla Sutta*.

<sup>49</sup> *Idam kho taṃ bhikkhava appamattakaṃ oramattakaṃ silamattakaṃ yena pūthujjano Tathāgataṃ vaṇṇaṃ vadamāno vaḍḍeva.* DN I 12. "These, brethren, are the trifling matters, the minor details, of mere morality, of which the unconverted man, when praising the Tathāgata, might speak." Tr. T.W. Rhys Davids, DB i 28.

##### Stage II

Here we find miscellaneous elements. I do not know how to evaluate their likely authenticity. Developing the *indriyas* is a requirement for the attainment of *opapātika* while abandoning the five hindrances is the criteria for *anāgāmi*. Both of these stages form part of the second case history which is the subject of the following article, 'Case Histories from the Pali Canon II: The Four Stages (*sotāpanna*, *sakadāgāmin*, *anāgāmin*, *araha*) case history - spiritual materialism and the need for tangible results.'

##### Stages III and V

The authenticity and originality of the *jhānas*, which fall into Stage III of the schema I have proposed for this HCH, and the destruction of the intoxicants (*āsava*s), Stage V, have been firmly established by Bronkhorst, as has the practice of mindfulness (*saṃ*), Stage II, *ii* here.<sup>50</sup> The authenticity of an individual element in this HCH, however, is not sufficient to prove the authenticity of the whole as a genuine process of development.

##### Stage IV

This is the stage of developing the transpersonal or paranormal powers. About these I quote at length from Lee Siegel's timely book, *Net of Magic: Wonders and Deceptions in India*,

"The confusion, Indian as well as European, of magician-entertainers with magician-yogis was natural and intentionally precipitated. Street performers earned their livelihood by capitalizing on the association, by imitating or

<sup>50</sup> Bronkhorst, 1986 : 88f.

impersonating those mendicant ascetics who, for over two thousand years in India, having renounced their domestic and social roles and having severed all attachments to the world to wander here and there in a penance for their birth, have been supported with the alms of pious members of society wanting, through their offerings, to have some redemptive share in the vagabond renouncer's holiness. Through ascetic practices, wandering sanniyasis were (and are) believed to attain supernatural powers, the powers of Shiva, *siddhis*, which, like every other aspect of life and death in India, have been systematically catalogued and normatively categorized: *aṇiman* (the power to become minute or, for the magician, disappearance) and *mahiman* (the power to become large); *laghiman* (the ability to become light, to levitate) and *gariman* (the power to become heavy); *prāpti* (the skill of obtaining things, effecting materializations, or, as explained by the traditional commentators on the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali [3.45], having the ability to touch the moon with one's fingertip); *prākāmya* (the power to will things so - telekinesis); *iśīva* (a power over the will of others - hypnosis) and *vaśīva* (a power to subdue one's own will - self-hypnosis). Demonstrations of any of these skills are proof of holy perfection and perfect holiness. The Buddha, that son of Maya, Queen Magic, is frequently referred to and depicted as a magician, a *māyāvīr*. [here Siegel quotes Stage IV, iii.] ...

"I've seen versions of the same tricks performed by entertainers.

...

"The magical potencies of the Buddha, *abhijñās* and *Rddhis* - telepathy and telekinesis, clairvoyance, clairaudience, and clairsentience - were, it was postulated, acquired or realized in advanced meditation. ...

"Because there was money to be made, alms for ascetics and offerings for incarnate gods, money given in exchange for a participation in the holiness that supernatural feats were thought to express or represent, every street magician had a version of the *siddhis*, *Rddhis* and *abhijñās*. As the wandering holy man seemed to be a magician, so the wondering magician seemed to be a holy man. And there was (and is) power, cash or esteem, in holiness."<sup>51</sup>

I think this says eloquently and adequately what there is to be said about the attainments that belong to this stage.

In order to win the debate, the Teaching had to be shown to contain everything: moral discipline (Stage I), mental discipline (Stage II, i - iii), ascetic practice (Stage II, iv), altered states of consciousness in the form of trance states (Stage III), transpersonal and magical powers (Stage IV), as well as the Liberation which was its goal (Stage V).

### 6.3 The DN Version

The DN suttas are very keen to prove the authenticity of this HCH, which is hardly surprising. They put it into Ānanda's mouth in DN 10, where he teaches it as "the three factors the Buddha used to praise, which he would use to arouse the people, to bring them into his teaching" and to establish them there: the noble factor of *sīla*, the noble factor of *samādhi* and the noble factor of *paññā*.<sup>52</sup> This sutta contains so few of the features of the other debates that it is mainly classifiable as a "debate sutta" because it contains this HCH and because of its location in this

<sup>51</sup> Siegel, 1991 : 150f.

<sup>52</sup> *Tiṇṇam kho mānava khandhānam so Bhagavā vaṇṇa-vādī ahoṣi, ettha ca imaṃ janatam samādapesi nivesesi paṭiṭṭhāpesi ... Ariyassa silakkhandhassa, ariyassa samādhikkhandhassa, ariyassa paññakkhandhassa.* (§ 6).

Nikāya. It is evidence that at some stage the Dīgha *bhāṅakas* needed to put Ānanda's authority behind their version of this account.

In spite of this attempt, many factors point against any attribution of authenticity to this HCH as an genuine case history and path to Enlightenment. One of these is the flexibility with which it is divided and adapted. Some examples were given above (the *Ambaṭṭha* and the *Soṇandaṅga suttas*, DN 3 and 4). There are, however, cases in the DN where this HCH is adapted with rather more serious implications regarding the Buddha's Teaching. One of these occurs in the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* (DN 9): the Buddha is challenged to explain how the cessation of consciousness, *abhisaññā-nirodha*, comes about. He replies by means of the HCH Stages I and II. Then he teaches the stages (*āyatana*s) where "space is infinite" (*ākāśānañca*), "knowledge is infinite" (*viññāṇānañca*), "there is nothing" (*ākāraññā*) and "there is neither ideation nor non-ideation" (*nevasaññānāsaññā*), known collectively as the four *arūpas*, which are an unusual interpolation in this context, and further he teaches that the process culminates in cessation (*so nirodham phusaṃ*), which is also unusual. Bronkhorst has brought forward convincing evidence that points to a time when these stages were not accepted by at least some Buddhists<sup>53</sup> and considers that they do not form a part of original Buddhism.<sup>54</sup> Another instance where the HCH is adapted with rather serious implications occurs in the *Tevijja Sutta* (DN 13), where, rather suddenly, the qualities of mind *mettā*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekkhā*, known collectively as the *brahmavihāras*, appear as elements in the HCH, and the bhikkhu pervades the world with these (paras. 76 - 79). These too Bronkhorst has shown to be neither uniquely nor originally Buddhist.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the "pe's", or shorthand signals in the text that

<sup>53</sup> Bronkhorst, 1986 : 82.

<sup>54</sup> See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 86.

<sup>55</sup> Bronkhorst, 1986 : 87f

portions are to be repeated<sup>56</sup> in this sutta make it uncertain whether the HCH in its entirety is included in the Buddha's treatment of the path to companionship with Brahmā (*brahmānaṃ sahaṃvayāya magga*) and supplemented by the *brahmavihāras*, or whether Stages III is omitted and substituted by them.<sup>57</sup>

## 6.4 The MN Version

The MN has its own version of this HCH which is much simpler than the DN version. The schema is worth presenting separately.

### The MN Schema<sup>58</sup>

#### STAGE I The Pre-requisites

- i Hearing the Dhamma from a Tathāgata, acquiring faith, and going forth (§§ 40, 41)
- ii Practising the code of morality, *sīlas* (MN has only §§ 43 - 45)

#### STAGE II The cultivation of the mind

- i Guarding the door of the senses, *indriyas* (§ 64)
- ii Becoming endowed with *sati* and *sampajañña* (§ 65)
- iii Contentment - *santuṭṭha* (§ 66)
- iv Appropriate nourishment; seeking isolation (§ 67)
- v Abandoning the five hindrances - *nīvaranas* (§ 68)

<sup>56</sup> PTSD, s.v. *peyyāla*, "On syllable *pe* Trenckner, Notes 66, says: 'The sign of abridgement, *pe* ..., means *peyyāla* which is not an imperative 'insert, fill up the gap,' but a substantive *peyyālo* or *peyyālam*, signifying a phrase to be repeated over & over again."

<sup>57</sup> DN I 250, fn. 5.

<sup>58</sup> The paragraph numbers are those from the DN version.

## STAGE III Transcending the mind

The *jhānas* (§§ 75, 77, 79, 81)

## STAGE IV Developing the transpersonal Powers

- vi Knowing the details of one's former lives (§§ 93)
- vii Awareness of the transmigrational future of others, including the development of the *dhamma-cakkhu* (§§ 95)

## STAGE V Liberation, § 97

- i Knowledge of the destruction of the *āsavas*, in terms of the existence of, the rising of, the ceasing of, and the path to the cessation of both suffering (*dukkha*) and the *āsavas*
- ii Knowledge that the mind is released from the *āsavas*
- iii Knowing that, according to precisely defined criteria, he has succeeded, viz. *Khinā jāni vusitam brahmaccariyaṃ kataṃ karanīyaṃ nāpapaṃ ithattāya*

The MN version lacks most of the paranormal or transpersonal powers that are so important in Stage IV of the DN version. Those that remain occur also among the Ten Powers of the Tathāgata<sup>59</sup> and within Sāriputta's lion's roar.<sup>60</sup> With regard to (vi), knowing the details of one's past lives, past life work forms an increasing part of the modern therapeutical experience in the work of therapists of different theoretical

<sup>59</sup> Manné (forthcoming), quote (8), (viii) and (ix).

<sup>60</sup> Manné (forthcoming), quote (14), (xvi) and (xvii).

allegiances.<sup>61</sup> knowing something about one's former lives seems to be useful for solving problems in the present life. This section of the MN is more plausible than the same section of the DN version.

The *Mahātaṇhāsānikhaya Sutta* (MN 38) makes a particular adaptation. It follows SPS-HCH up to the *jhānas*, Stage III, and then continues with a different process (HCH): release through the destruction of craving, *taṇhāsānikhaya vimutti*. This process comprises a certain relationship to the products of the workings of the six senses: the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body and the mind. The relationship is identical with regard to each of these senses. It is:

"When he has seen a material shape through the eye, [heard a sound through the ear, smelt a scent with the nose, savoured a taste with the tongue, felt a touch with the body, known a mental object with the mind] he does not feel attraction for agreeable material shapes, [sounds, etc.], he does not feel repugnance for disagreeable material shapes [sounds, etc.]; and he dwells with mindfulness aroused as to the body, with a mind that is immeasurable; and he comprehends that freedom of mind and that freedom through intuitive wisdom as they really are, whereby those evil unskilled states of his are stopped without remainder. He who has thus got rid of compliance and antipathy, whatever feeling he feels – pleasant or painful or neither painful nor pleasant – he does not delight in that feeling, does not welcome it or persist in cleaving to it. From not delighting in that feeling of his, from not welcoming it, from not

<sup>61</sup> Moody, 1976; Netherton and Shiffrin, 1978; Woolger, 1988. Moody is a psychiatrist. Netherton is a psychologist. Woolger is a Jungian analyst. The literature on this subject is much wider than the three books cited. I have chosen these because they are among the classics on this subject.

persisting in cleaving to it, whatever was delight in those feelings is stopped. From the stopping of his delight is the stopping of grasping; from the stopping of grasping is the stopping of becoming; from the stopping of becoming is the stopping of birth; from the stopping of birth, old age and dying, grief, sorrow, suffering, lamentation and despair are stopped. Such is the stopping of this entire mass of anguish.<sup>62</sup>

These examples could be taken to show that the *jhānas* were a stopping stone for entry into various other altered states of consciousness. The two DN suttas that make adaptations are debates. The *Mahātaṇhāsankhaya Sutta* (MN 38), however, is a consultation.<sup>63</sup> I have argued<sup>64</sup> that whereas debates are exercises in publicity and opportunities for propaganda, consultations show the problems that arose and how they were dealt with and resolved. Consultations, therefore, may be more reliable as historical documents and may show aspects of the Teaching developing spontaneously in response to particular problems. Bronkhorst, while showing that the four *arīpas* and the *brahmavihāras* did not form a part of original Buddhism, showed at the same time that

<sup>62</sup> Tr. Horner, *MLS* I 323f. *So cakkhūṃ rūpaṃ dīvaṃ piyārūpe rūpe na sārājīti, appiyārūpe rūpe na byāpajjīti, upaṭṭhālakāyasati ca viharati appamānacetaso, tañ-ca cetovimuttūṃ paññāvimuttūṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti yath'assa te pāpakā akusalā dhammā aparisesā nirujjhanti. So evaṃ anurodhavirodhavipāhino yaṃ kañci vedanaṃ vedeti, sukkaṃ vā dukkaṃ vā adukkhamasukkaṃ vā, so taṃ vedanaṃ nābhinandati nābhivadati nājjhosīya tiṭṭhati. Tassa taṃ vedanaṃ anabhinandato anabhivadato anajjhosīyo tiṭṭhato yā vedananāsu nandī sā nirujjhati, tassa nandinirodhā upādānanirodho, upādānanirodhā bhavanirodho, bhavanirodhā jātīnīrodho, jātīnīrodhā jarāmaraṇaṃ so kaparīdevadukkhamanusuppāyāso nirujjhanti, evam - etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa nirodho hoti.* MN I 270.

<sup>63</sup> See Manné, 1990 : 3.

<sup>64</sup> Manné, 1990, 3.

they came in to Buddhism rather early as influences from the Jains.<sup>65</sup> Under these circumstances it is possible that the attainment of the capacity to enter at will into the *jhānas* also gave access to various other altered states of consciousness, as one might indeed expect from the highly developed skill in meditation that this ability must imply.

In any case, these examples show that the SPS-HCH was a flexible vehicle for winning an argument.

## 6.5 Authenticity of Function

As I said above (section 5), the function of this HCH in the DN was certainly to win victory for the Buddha in debate. The texts themselves give further clues: this Hypothetical Case History is the standard utterance "which the Buddha used to arouse the people, to bring them into his teaching and to establish them there".<sup>66</sup> The process that these texts describe is - and is intended to be - inspirational. There is no mention of hardship, no insinuation of the difficulties lying ahead, no allusion to the problems involved. Success is implied in commencing the Path. The attainment of its end, Liberation, is presented as inevitable. There are other Case Histories which address the problems that come up in understanding or in practising the Buddha's method. This one is clearly propaganda.<sup>67</sup> It is the advertisement for the

<sup>65</sup> Bronkhorst, 1986 : 88.

<sup>66</sup> DN 10, see above.

<sup>67</sup> See also Macquene, "The .. set of attainments [i.e. the HCH] is in the texts not merely listed but given in considerable detail with the use of striking similes. Great effort seems to have been spent in making even the most tortuous paths of spiritual training appear attractive to the common man having little experience of them, by appealing to the desire for self-control, peace and joy, purity and freedom, as well as to the longing to perceive and partake of realms of existence normally closed to people. One naturally assumes that the document is therefore

Buddha's method and its results, and a means for final victory in debate. It contains everything: the existence of a fabulous being (the Tathāgata); morality (Stage I); mental discipline and spiritual progress (Stage II); trance states (Stage III); paranormal abilities and magical powers (Stage IV); transcendental attainment (Stage V). It contains everything, therefore it contains something for everybody, as witnessed in its efficacy to convert brahmins, wanderers, ascetics, kings, householders; in fact all the groups of people with whom the Buddha came into contact. Was the Buddha then cynical, offering magic and non-Buddhist states as part of his message just to convert followers? I think not. He knew his Teaching was hard to grasp and subtle.<sup>68</sup> Few were the people who would comprehend it: the debates themselves offer only two examples of people who were converted through this HCH and went on to attain Arahatship.<sup>69</sup> But many more were the people who could benefit at least a

intended to attract people from the household to the homeless life, to make monks out of laymen." 1988 : 280.

<sup>68</sup> *adhigato kho me ayam dhammo gambhīro duddasso duranubodho santo panīto atakkāvacarō nipuṇo paññāvedaniyo*. MN i 167. "This dhamma, wont by me is deep, difficult to see, difficult to understand, tranquil, excellent, beyond dialectic, subtle, intelligible to the learned." Horner, MLS i 211.

<sup>69</sup> Kassapa, the ascetic, in DN 8, and Citta Hathisari-putto in DN 9. There are, however, some problematic expressions:

(1) In DN 3 [110] it is said of Pokkharasādi, "And then the brahman Pokkharasādi, as one who had seen the Truth, had mastered it, understood it, dived deep down into it, who had passed beyond doubt and put away perplexity and gained full confidence, who had become dependent on no other man for his knowledge of the teaching of the Master .." (Tr. Rhys Davids, DB I 135.) *ditṭha-dhammo patta-dhammo vidita-dhammo pariyoḡāha-dhammo āna-vickiccho vigāta-kathaṅkatho vesārajāppatto aparappaccayo saṭṭhu sāvane* ... The same expression is used about Kūṭadanta in DN 5 [148] This is a description of a state of attainment and certainly sounds rather impressive. But what level of attainment does it correspond to? I do not know.

(2) DN 5 precedes this expression with "And just as a clean cloth, with all stains in it washed away, will readily take the dye, just even so did Kūṭadanta the Brahman, even while seated there, obtain the pure and spotless Eye for the Truth,

(Continues...)

little from practising his method. Once the Buddha had decided to teach, it was also his responsibility to reach as many people as possible, his challenge also in terms of the time he lived in and the debate tradition.

Perhaps this case history can be regarded in a different way. Griffiths says of it, "We may regard [it to be] a text on meditation not as an encapsulation of the experience to which it points, but as simultaneously a blue-print for such experience - a spiritual technology - and a reflection upon it. .. the meditation text is that by which experience both becomes possible for and relevant to the practitioner, and that which mediates the experience so that it may become efficacious for others. Meditation texts then appear as a kind of pictorial, symbolic, conceptual and imagistic representation by means of which men may approach varieties of transcendent experience,"<sup>70</sup> i.e., they are texts to inspire, but not to take literally.<sup>71</sup>

and he knew: 'Whatsoever has a beginning, in that is inherent also the necessity of dissolution.'" (Tr. Rhys Davids, DB I 184.) *seyyathā pi nāma sūdhāṃ vatthaṃ apogata-kāḷakaṃ samad eva rajanāṃ patigaṇṭheyya, evam eva Kūṭadantassa brāhmaṇassa tasmīn yeva āsane viraṇaṃ vīta-maṇaṃ dhamma-cakkhuṃ udapādī: yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ nirodha-dhammaṃ ti*. Of this experience of gaining the "Dhamma-Eye", Harvey says "This experience is technically known as stream-entry .." (Harvey, 1990 : 23. See also Lamotte, 1984 : 53. Lamotte later qualifies this as being scholastic terminology, p.54. Malasekera in the DPPN, s.v. Aññāta-Koṇḍañña, assumes this as well.) Harvey cites no evidence for this claim, and I know of no evidence for it in the DN, MN, SN or AN. I have not seen the two quoted in any passage in the Pali texts. I think therefore that he is mistaken. The attainment of the "Dhamma-Eye" is the first recorded attainment after the Buddha preached his first sermon, and there is no mention at all of "stream-entry" in this sermon (SN V 420-424). The Sutta version of this event in the SN stops at Koṇḍañña's attainment of the Dhamma-Eye. The Vinaya version is longer and concludes by saying that each of the five first disciples attained Liberation (*anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimuccimsu*).

<sup>70</sup> Griffiths, 1983 : 7-8. Griffiths bases himself on Oberhammer's view of yogic meditation. (Oberhammer, 1977.)

<sup>71</sup> But see Sharf, forthcoming.

The purpose of this passage was to win the debate. To do this, the "knowledge" it contained had to be more inspiring than that offered by the opponent. Hence it had to contain something for everybody, and it does. But this is not the whole story. I think that Griffith's view contributes to explain the capacity of this passage to win debates while it does not quite confirm to Griffith's definition of the meditational texts - some of its contents being spurious - it shares with them the capacity to inspire.

## 7 Further Textual Problems

### 7.1 Why the MN and the DN versions differ

Schmithausen has already suggested that different *bhāṇakas* had different versions of teachings.<sup>72</sup> I agree with him about this. I wish further to propose that the reason the DN has the embellished version, while the MN has a simpler one can be accounted for by the difference in functions of these two texts. I have argued<sup>73</sup> that the DN "derives from an original, probably spontaneously created, collection of publicity material for the early Buddhists, while the .. MN (is) the collection which arose to serve their need to introduce new converts to the character of the leader, the Buddha, and the important disciples, to integrate the new converts into their values and their way of life, and to provide them with the fundamentals of the Teaching and the Practice." To serve its purpose, therefore the DN needs an embellished version, to provide entertainment, to capture the imagination, to attract support and converts; the MN has no need for the embellishments: it is for those who have already been converted. Hence its version of this HCH is less embellished.

<sup>72</sup> Schmithausen, 1981 : 204, fn 15.

<sup>73</sup> Manné, 1990 : 4.3.

### 7.2 Why the SPS-HCH occurs primarily in dramatic debates

In the DN the SPS-HCH occurs only in dramatic debates and never in reported debates or debates with hypothetical opponents. In the MN it occurs in various types of debates in six of the eight suttas in which it is found.

A key feature of the brahman debates is forcing the opponent to ask questions. With regard to the person being questioned, "mere brazen assertion does not suffice: one must be able to prove one's knowledge".<sup>74</sup> Perhaps we must believe that this HCH was genuinely important in debates of a certain period, although we cannot presume that it had its present form from the very earliest times.<sup>75</sup> The Digha *bhāṇakas*, then, are using it in an authentic setting. If I am right about the purposes of the DN and the MN, then probably the DN *bhāṇakas* had more contact with brahman society and were more familiar with its customs. Statistics regarding the target groups of these two Nikāyas tend to support this. 29.41% (10 out of 34) of DN suttas are directed towards brahmins,<sup>76</sup> while only 14.47% (22 out of 152) of MN suttas<sup>77</sup> are similarly directed.

<sup>74</sup> See Witzel, 1987 : 373.

<sup>75</sup> See Pande, 1974 : 85ff.

<sup>76</sup> Suttas no. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 23, 27.

<sup>77</sup> Suttas no.4, 7, 27, 30, 41, 42, 82, 85, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 107, 108, 135, 150, 152.

## In Conclusion

Many of the suttas of the Pāli canon are like novels, or at least like short stories. They are source books for psychologists and contain case histories. The serious study of these case histories can further our understanding of the history and the development of Buddhism as I have shown here, and as I show in the following case history.

La Conversion

Joy Manné

## CASE HISTORIES FROM THE PĀLI CANON II:<sup>1</sup>

### *SOTĀPANNA, SAKADĀGĀMIN, ANĀGĀMIN, ARAHAT* – THE FOUR STAGES CASE HISTORY OR SPIRITUAL MATERIALISM AND THE NEED FOR TANGIBLE RESULTS

Robert H. Sharf has argued in a recent article called *Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience* that "while some adepts may indeed experience "altered States" in the course of their training, critical analysis shows that such states do not constitute the reference points for the elaborate Buddhist discourse pertaining to the "path". Rather, such discourse turns out to function ideologically and performatively -- wielded more often than not in the interests of legitimation and institutional authority."<sup>2</sup> In Section VI of his article Sharf is concerned with the contemporary rivalry between teachers of *samatha* and *vipassanā* and with their disputes between whether attainments are to be defined as *jhāna* or *sotāpanna*.<sup>3</sup> Sharf says, "private episodes [i.e. as

<sup>1</sup> These investigations were supported by the Foundation for Research in the field of Theology and the Science of Religions in the Netherlands, which is subsidized by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.), and in part constitute Chapters VI and VII of my doctoral dissertation, *Debates and Case Histories in the Pali Canon*, Utrecht, 1991. Further, I wish to thank Professor Dr. Oskar v. Hinüber for his many useful suggestions which allowed me to make various improvements to this article. The responsibility for the opinions expressed in this article remains, of course, entirely my own.

<sup>2</sup> Numen, forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> Sharf, (forthcoming): section VI.



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Joy Manné

## CASE HISTORIES FROM THE PĀLI CANON II:<sup>1</sup>

### *SOTĀPANNA, SAKADĀGĀMIN, ANĀGĀMIN, ARAHAT* – THE FOUR STAGES CASE HISTORY OR SPIRITUAL MATERIALISM AND THE NEED FOR TANGIBLE RESULTS

Robert H. Sharf has argued in a recent article called *Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience* that "while some adepts may indeed experience "altered States" in the course of their training, critical analysis shows that such states do not constitute the reference points for the elaborate Buddhist discourse pertaining to the "path". Rather, such discourse turns out to function ideologically and performatively – wielded more often than not in the interests of legitimation and institutional authority."<sup>2</sup> In Section VI of his article Sharf is concerned with the contemporary rivalry between teachers of *samatha* and *vipassanā* and with their disputes between whether attainments are to be defined as *jhāna* or *sotāpanna*.<sup>3</sup> Sharf says, "private episodes [i.e. as

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<sup>2</sup> Numen, forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> Sharf, (forthcoming): section VI.

potentially transformative experiences do not constitute the reference points for the elaborate discourse on meditative states found in Buddhist scholastic sources. In other words, terms such *samatha*, *vipassanā*, *sotāpanna* and *satori* are not rendered sensible by virtue of the fact that they refer to clearly delimited "experiences" shared by Buddhist practitioners. Rather, the meaning of such terminology must be sought in the polemic and ideological context in which Buddhist meditation is carried out." A study of one of the most famous case histories in the Pāli Canon will show that this has always been the case and will force us to further lose some illusions.

Buddhist case histories are treated in two quite opposite ways. Scholars treat them in one way, and contemporary meditation teachers and teachers of Buddhism treat them in another. Often the great scholars treat the case histories in a summary manner, pronouncing verdicts upon them which rest more upon the scholar's authority than upon the hard work of providing the proof demanded by an interested and enquiring colleague. A lineage of scholars then simply believes and quotes these authorities, but, once again, no evidence is brought forward. The modern monks and lay teachers of Buddhism and meditation, too, do not question these case histories, but take them for granted as representing a true description of the results of meditation at the time of the Buddha, and therefore of the potential results of meditation for the modern practitioner today. A detailed study of these case histories provides a mine of interesting and surprising information and forces us to separate from our projections and fantasies about the contents of the texts and the results of the practice of meditation.

## THE FOUR STAGES HYPOTHETICAL CASE HISTORY - SPIRITUAL MATERIALISM AND THE NEED FOR TANGIBLE RESULTS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

There are two suttas, the *Cūḷasihanāda Sutta* of the MN (11) and AN II 238, §239, that permit the monks to roar a lion's roar on the subject of the existence of the four types of *samaṇa* in the Buddha's Teaching: the *sotāpanna* "the Stream Enterer", the *sakadāgāmin* "the Once-Returner", the *opapātika*<sup>4</sup> "the Non-Returner" and the Arahant. From the AN sutta we know that these terms designate sequential stages of development, i.e. that the sequence of types of *samaṇa* forms a HCH. Although these suttas have the assertion about *samaṇas* in common, they differ completely with regard to content and especially, neither of them provide either the defence of this aspect of the training or the support for it that the debate situation would require.<sup>5</sup> How are we to explain this anomaly? The answer is that it is unlikely that this HCH has an authentic connection with the debate tradition, but rather that it was imposed upon it in the course of the development of the religion. The following long analysis of the appearances of these stages in the four Nikāyas will show that the religion required this HCH on many grounds. First the lists of stages and their elaborations (§2) will be presented. Then what the texts say about the individual stages is examined where there is enough evidence to do so (§3). This information is then reviewed and discussed (§4). A section presents the ways in which the texts use and abuse this hypothetical case history (§5). Finally the Four Stages hypothetical case history is discussed as a systematising and organising structure (§6), the

<sup>4</sup> An alternative name for this stage is *anāgāmin*.

<sup>5</sup> Manné, forthcoming.

statement that the religion required this sequence of stages is justified and the grounds are provided.<sup>6</sup>

As I said, this sequence of types of *samaṇa* forms a sequence of stages of development or a hypothetical case history (HCH). I call this HCH the Four Stages HCH. The Four Stages HCH occurs in many different contexts besides these debate contexts. It demonstrates one of the Buddhists' various attempts to provide and to sustain a theory of stages, viz., the theory that Liberation is achieved through attaining in sequence different stages of development, and that these stages can be defined in a way that makes them recognisable in themselves and discernible from each other.

The distinguishing feature of this hypothetical case history is that, unlike the stages of the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* HCH<sup>7</sup> which take place over one life-time only, the developments it encompasses take place over more than one life-time. Two mutually connected Buddhist ideas require such a case history. One of these is the idea of transmigration, *samsāra*, the endless cycle of birth and death during which one is not necessarily always reborn as a human being but may be reborn as an animal, or in hell, or even in heaven, all of these types of rebirths being temporary by nature.<sup>8</sup> It is this long series of existences which involve beings in suffering.<sup>9</sup> The other, related idea is comprised in the term *kamma*: "a causal relationship (that exists) between the present life and the next, or, more generally speaking, between one life and the following, the determining factor of which is held to be one's actions in the present

<sup>6</sup> For a different approach to these four stages see Horner (1936), Chapter VI; Masfield (1986), Chapter I.

<sup>7</sup> See 'Case Histories from the Pāli Canon I.

<sup>8</sup> Takasaki, 1987: 128. Cf. Lamotte, 1958: 34ff.

<sup>9</sup> Lamotte, 1984: 41.

life."<sup>10</sup> These connected ideas required a case history extending over more than one lifetime not only logically, but also at the very least to give hope to the practitioner who despairs of making it "this time round".<sup>11</sup>

The most important occurrences of this hypothetical case history are in the DN,<sup>12</sup> MN,<sup>13</sup> SN and AN, and so these texts form the basis of

<sup>10</sup> Takasaki, 1987: 129. Cf. Lamotte, 1958: 36ff. Cf. also Gombrich (1984: 12), "The Buddha declared *karman* to be purely an ethical matter, of thought, word or deed; and the quality of a *karman*, good or bad, virtuous or evil, lay solely in the intention behind it. The quality of an act depended only on the motive, regardless of who did it." See also Gombrich (1984: 11f) on the relationship between the Buddhist interpretation of the concept of *karman* and its meaning in the context of brāhman ideology.

<sup>11</sup> Horner, 1936: 211f.

<sup>12</sup> In 8 DN Suttas: the *Mahāli Sutta* (DN 6), the *Mahā-Parinibbāna Sutta* (DN 16), the *Jana-Vasabha Sutta* (18), the *Mahā-Govinda Sutta* (19), the *Sakka-Paiṭha Sutta* (21), the *Sampasādanīya Sutta* (28), the *Sangīti Sutta* (33) and the *Dasuttara Sutta* (34). Three are debates: the *Mahāli Sutta* (DN 6), the *Lohicca Sutta* (12), and the *Sampasādanīya Sutta* (DN 28); three are Fantasies (this category was not defined in Manné, 1990; it comprises those stories and accounts about various non-human beings which are not usually considered believable: they are fantastic; it includes all Stories, Legends, Myths, and accounts of previous lives of the Buddha): the *Jana-Vasabha Sutta* (18), the *Mahā-Govinda Sutta* (19), and the *Sakka-Paiṭha Sutta* (21); the remaining two, the *Sangīti Sutta* (33) and the *Dasuttara Sutta* (34), are Sermons, and can be further categorised as Abhidhammic.

<sup>13</sup> In full in 4 Majjhima suttas: the *Akankheyya Sutta* (MN 6), the *Cūla Gopālakā Sutta* (MN 34), the *Naḷakapāna Sutta* (MN 68) and the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* (MN 118); in the form of the list of stages and fruits in the *Dakkhīnavibhaṅga Sutta* (MN 142); in part in seven suttas: the *Cūlasihanāda Sutta* (MN 11 here by implication as none of the stages are named); the *Athakanāgara Sutta* (MN 52), the stages *āsvānaṃ khayam pāpūnti* and *opapātika*; the *MahāMāhūka Sutta* (MN 64, the *opapātika*); the *Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta* (MN 70, *aññā* and *anāgāmiṭṭhā*); the *MahāVacchagotta Sutta* (MN 73, stages (3) and (4) of the standard version); the *Brahmāya Sutta*, (MN 91, *opapātika*); and the *Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta* (MN 142, *opapātika*). Seven of these suttas are Sermons (MN 6, 11, 34, 64, 68, 118, 140), two are

this study. The texts of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and the *Vinaya Piṭaka* show minimal interest in this sequence of four stages and have been excluded on this ground, while the *Puggalapaññatti* and the *Kathāvatthu* of the *Abhiñhamma Piṭaka*, which do occupy themselves extensively with it, have been excluded on the ground that they are late texts.

## 2. THE LISTS OF STAGES AND THEIR ELABORATIONS

### 2.1. The lists of stages

The Four Stages HCH occurs in independent, sequential lists of stages or in sequential lists of stages associated with a particular practice. It has a standard version,<sup>14</sup> Version A below, a brief version of the standard version, Version B, below, and a brief version with fruits, Version C, below. There are also elaborations on individual stages which involve the insertion of substages. In presenting the material I will not be cataloguing all the minor textual variations.

#### Version A. The standard version.

1. *Idha .. bhikkhu tīṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayaṃ sotāpanno*<sup>15</sup> *hoti avinipāta-dhammo nīyato sambodhi-parāyaṇo.* "At this stage a bhikkhu, through the disappearance of the three fetters, becomes a Stream-Enterer, characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences, restrained, having Enlightenment as his goal."

Consultations (MN 52, 73 begins as a consultation and changes to a Debate), and one is a Debate (MN 91). I am not able to categorise MN 142.

<sup>14</sup> "Standard" because this is the version that occurs most frequently in the texts. This in no way implies that I think it is the original version of this HCH.

<sup>15</sup> Lit. "he who has attained the stream". See also Masefield 1986, 130 - 136 for a discussion of the etymology of this term.

2. *Puna ca paraṃ .. bhikkhu tīṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayaṃ rūpa-dosa-mohānaṃ tamuttā sakadāgāmi hoti, sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āganivā dukkhass' antaṃ karoti.* "After that, a bhikkhu, through the disappearance of the three fetters, and through the reduction of passion, hatred and delusionment becomes a Once-Returner: having returned once only to this world, he makes an end of suffering."
3. *Puna ca .. bhikkhu pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayaṃ opapātiko hoti tatha parinibbāyi anāvatti-dhammo tasmā lokā.* "And then, through the disappearance of the five fetters binding to the lower states, a bhikkhu becomes an Opatatika, and in that form he attains extinction; he is characterised by non-returning from that world."
4. \* *Puna ca paraṃ .. bhikkhu āsavānaṃ khayaṃ anāsavaṃ ceto-vimuttiṃ paññā-vimuttiṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikarivā upasampajja viharati.* "And then, through the destruction of the intoxicants, he lives in the emancipation of mind and insight<sup>16</sup> that are free from intoxicants, having experienced it himself in this very lifetime through his own higher knowledge. (DN 6 I 156; cf. e.g. DN 18 II 200, 19 III 251f; MN 73 I 490, Stages 3 & 4 only; SN V 346, 356-360, etc; AN I 231f, II 88f; 238; IV 12; etc.).

(1) - (4) above comprise the most frequent version of this HCH.

The exact fetters, *saṃyojanas*, meant in (1), (2) and (3) must be inferred from various suttas; they are never specified in the *Nikāyas* either in the context of the Four Stages HCH or in the context of one particular stage. Where three fetters (*saṃyojanas*) are mentioned in these texts,

<sup>16</sup> See C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Dhs. tr. p. 16f.

these are "personality belief" (*sakkāyadīṭṭhi*), "sceptical doubt" (*vicikicchā*), and "clinging to mere rule and ritual" (*sīlabbata-paramāsu*). Where five fetters (*samyojanas*) are mentioned in the texts, "sensuous craving" (*kāma-rāga*) and "ill-will" (*vyāpāda*) are added. These five are called the "fetters binding to the lower states" (*orambhūgiya-samyojana*. DN III 234, vii; MN I 432; SN V 61; AN IV 459; etc.).

The stage *opapātika* may also be called the stage *anāgamin* (see versions B, C, and D below). These two terms are discussed in detail in §3.4. The relationship between *opapātika* and *anāgamin* has been totally overlooked by the CPD.

#### Variations in the MN.

MN has particular variations. Stage 4 may appear as:

- 4.i *bhikkhū arahanto khīṇāsavā vusitavanto katakaraniyā ohitabhārā anuppattasadatthā parikkhīṇabhavasamyojanā samma-d-aññā vimutā.* "Bhikkhus who are Arahats, in whom the intoxicants are destroyed, who have fulfilled their lives, done what they had to do, put down their burdens, who have attained their own well-being, in whom the fetters to existence are destroyed, who are possessed of the highest knowledge, liberated" (MN 34 I 226),<sup>17</sup> or
- 4.ii *āsavānaṃ khayam pāpuṇāti* - "One who reaches the extinction of the intoxicants" (MN 52 I 350, 64 I 436, stages 3 and 4.ii only), or
- 4.iii *aññāya saṅghahīti* - "One who is established in the highest knowledge." (MN 68 I 466)

<sup>17</sup> See Erghart, 1977.

Stages (4) and (3) may be followed by the stage:

*sāvako gihī odātavasano kāmbhogī sāsanakaro  
ovādapaṭikaro tiṇṇavicikicchho vigatakathaṃkatho  
vesārajappatto aparappaccayo saṭṭhusāsane viharati.* "(A) layfollower who is a disciple, a householder clothed in white, and who, (though) an enjoyer of sense-pleasures, is a doer of the instruction, one who accepts the exhortation, who has crossed over doubt and, perplexity gone, fares in the Teacher's instruction, won to conviction, not relying on others". (MN I 491)

This citation shows that this stage is specific to lay followers.

#### Version B. The brief version

The standard version occurs occasionally in the brief form:

1. *soṭṭapanna*, "the Stream-Enterer"
2. *sakadāgāmin*, "the Once Returner"
3. *anāgāmin*, "the Non-Returner"
4. Arahant (SN III 168, V 200, 202; AN V 85 stages (1) - (3) only.)<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The brief version, as far as I have been able to ascertain, does not occur in either the DN or the MN. Each of the DN, MN, SN and AN contain both the standard version, and the brief version with fruits.

## Version C. The brief version with both stages and fruits

The brief version with both stages and fruits occurs more frequently than the brief version. In this HCH each of the stages of the brief version is attributed with a "fruit".

- 1 *soṭāpanna*  
 1.i *soṭāpatti-phala-sacchikiriyāya patipanna* - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of stream-entry";  
 2 *sakadāgāmi*  
 2.i *sakadāgāmi-phala-sacchikiriyāya patipanna* - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of the Once-Returner";  
 3 *anāgāmi*  
 3.i *anāgāmi-phala-sacchikiriyāya patipanna* - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of the Non-Returner";  
 4 *arahā*  
 4.i.a *arahattāya patipanna* - "the attainment of Arahatsip",<sup>19</sup> or  
 4.i.b *arahattaphalasacchikiriyāya patipanna* - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of arahatsip".  
 (MN III 254)

## Version D. The brief version with fruits only

This may occur in the form of a list expressed as in 1.i, 2.i, 3.i, 4.i.b above (AN I 44f) or in the form: 1.i *soṭāpatti-phalam*, 2.i *sakadāgāmi-phalam*, 3.i *anāgāmi-phalam*, 4.i *arahatta-phalam*. (DN 33 III 227, §xv, 34 III 277, §x; SN V 25)

<sup>19</sup> DN 33 III 255 *aṭṭha puggala dakkhineyyā*, cf AN IV 292 *aṭṭha puggala āhuneyyā pāhuneyyā dakkhineyyā*, AN IV 204; SN V 202, § 18(8), here linked with the Five Indriyas, see section 2.3.1.i below; etc.

The stages may be listed with or without their fruits. They may be listed with the stages preceding the fruits as above, or in the opposite order: with the fruits preceding the stages.<sup>20</sup> The fruits may be listed independently of the stages.<sup>21</sup> The "fruits" may be presented as belonging to the person: *sakadāgāmi-phala*, *anāgāmi-phala*. "the fruit of the Once-Returner", "the fruit of the Non-Returner" (2.i and 3.i above), or as belonging to the attainment: *soṭāpatti-phala*, *arahatta-phala*. "the fruit of the attainment of stream-entry" or "the fruit of arahatsip" (1.i and 4.i above).

## 2.2 The Elaborations

The Four Stages HCH in the standard version and its variations contains a minimum of information. The expressions for the stages are a code, expressions in brief with whole concepts comprised in single words or in terse phrases. The AN and SN are concerned with elaborations of this HCH. There are two principle elaborations, the elaborations of the stage *soṭāpanna* and the elaborations of the stage *anāgāmin*. The lists of stages sometimes contain "pre-stages", and it sometimes contains expressions for Liberation or Arahatsip which vary from the standard version.

<sup>20</sup> MN III 254f *cuddasa kho pan' im', Ānanda, pātipuggalikkā dakkhiṇā*; AN IV 372 *nava .. puggalā* (this list includes the *puṇḥajjana* in the ninth place, see below); AN IV 373 *nava .. puggalā āhuneyyā pāhuneyyā dakkhineyyā* (this list includes the *gotrabhū* in the ninth place, see below). Cf. AN IV 292 where the stages and fruits appear in the opposite order.

<sup>21</sup> SN V 25, DN 33 III 227 §xv, 34 III 277 §x. The list of the fruits alone occurs in both of these suttas in their sections on Fours but neither section contains a list of the Four Stages. The section on Eights in DN 33 III 255, quoted above) contains a list of both stages and fruits.

## 2.2.1 Elaborations of the pre-stages

A variety of pre-stages are attached to the lists of the stages and fruits. A pre-stage may be simply the stage of *puthujjana* "ordinary man",<sup>22</sup> or there might be further divisions:

- 0.a *bāhiraka kāmesu vītarāga* - "one who is beyond, and without attachment to sense-pleasures"  
 0.b *puthujjana-sīlavat* - "an ordinary person of moral habit"  
 0.c. *puthujjana-dussīla* - "an ordinary person of poor moral habit"  
 0.d. *tīracchānagata* - "an animal." (MN III 255)<sup>23</sup>

Pre-stages may comprise two types of followers, the *dhammānusārin* "one who lives in accordance with the dhamma" and the *saddhānusārin* "one who lives in accordance with faith" (SN V 200f, 12-15)<sup>24</sup> or simply the *gotrabhū* "a member of the religious community"<sup>25</sup> (AN IV 373), or the bhikkhu who is *suvavā*, "learned in religious knowledge" (SN III 167f).

2.2.2 Elaborations of the stage of Stream-Enterer, *sotāpanna*

The stage of *sotāpanna* is divided as follows:

- 1.a *So tīṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sattakkhattuparamo hoti sattakkhattuparamaṃ deve ca mānuse ca sandhāvivā samsarivā dukkhassa antaṃ karoti.* "Through the

<sup>22</sup> SN V 202; AN IV 372.

<sup>23</sup> Tr. Horner, MLS III 303. The subject of this sutta is the relationship between the worth and merit of an offering and the worth and merit of its recipient.

<sup>24</sup> The first precedes the second in this list. These two stages occur in a different HCH in the *Tevijja Vacchagotta Sutta*, MN 70.

<sup>25</sup> BHSD, s.v. *gotrabhū*.

disappearance of the three fetters, he becomes one who will not be born more than seven more times; after transmigrating and being reborn seven more times among gods and men, he makes an end of suffering.'

- 1.b *So tīṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā kolankolo hoti dve vā āpī vā kulāni sandhāvivā samsarivā dukkhassa antaṃ karoti.* "Through the disappearance of the three fetters, he becomes one who will go from clan<sup>26</sup> to clan; after transmigrating and being reborn in two or three more clans, he makes an end of suffering.'
- 1.c *So tīṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā ekabījī hoti ekaṃ yeva mānusakam bhavaṃ nibbattēvā dukkhassa antaṃ karoti.* "Through the disappearance of the three fetters, he becomes one possessed of only one more seed (one more potential for rebirth) and once he has completed one rebirth among humankind, he makes an end of suffering.
- 1.d=2 *So tīṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanutā sakadāgāmi hoti, sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āganivā dukkhassa' antaṃ karoti.* "After that, a bhikkhu, through the disappearance of the three fetters, and through the reduction of passion, hatred and delusionment becomes a Once-Returner: having returned once only to this world, he makes an end of suffering." (AN I 233)

The last expression is the *sakadāgāmi* formula as in Version A (2). The list may appear in the abbreviated form: *sattakkhattoparama, kolamkola, ekabījī* (AN V 120).

The grammar of this passage gives equal weight to each of these four expressions. Further no past participles are used to indicate a

<sup>26</sup> BHSD, s.v. *kula*, "good family", "high social grade".

sequential development through these attainments. This passage, therefore, cannot be taken to describe three kinds of *sotāpanna* plus the *sakadāgāmin*, or three different transitional stages between *sotāpanna* and *sakadāgāmin*. Rather, it describes four different possibilities contingent upon the disappearance of the three fetters (*āpāṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhaya*) a phrase which we must take as a synonym for the term *sotāpanna*. As most usually the disappearance of the three fetters is presented as the characteristic of the *sotāpanna*, and this attainment coupled with the reduction of *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* is presented as the characteristic of the *sakadāgāmin* (Version A), this passage points to a time when these two attainments were not yet clearly differentiated into separate and discrete stages of attainment. The question is, which of these two terms is the older? In §4.3,4 it is argued that the term *sotāpanna* is the older term.

### 2.2.3 Elaborations of the stage of Non-Returner, *opapātika/anāgāmin*<sup>27</sup>

There are no elaborations for the stage *opapātika*.

The stage of *anāgāmin* is divided into two or into five substages. The two types of *anāgāmin* are defined thus:

- i *So aññatarāṃ santāṃ cetovimuttāṃ upasampajja viharatī* - "He experiences the peace of mind which has a certain calm."
- ii *So kāmānaṃ yeva nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya paṭipanno hotī* - "He has followed a method leading to aversion towards,

<sup>27</sup> See Masefield, 1986 : 105 - 130 for an attempt to explain these terms, using both Canon and commentaries. This attempt is deemed magistral by Harrison (1987 : 262).

absence of desire for, and cessation of sensual enjoyments." (AN I 64)

The five types of *anāgāmin* are defined thus:

- 3.e *antarāparinibbāyin* - "one who has passed into Nibbana before the term, i.e. before having passed the first half of life".<sup>28</sup>
- 3.d *upahacca-parinibbāyin* - "one who attains Nibbana more than half-way through his next existence".<sup>29</sup>
- 3.c *asamkhāra-parinibbāyin* - "one who attains Nibbana devoid of the (*skandhā*) *samkhārā*"<sup>30</sup>
- 3.b *sasamkhāra-parinibbāyin* - "one who attains Nibbana with the (*skandhā*) *sakkhara*".
- 3.a *uddhamsoto ākiniṭṭhagāmin* - "one whose stream of life tends upwards to the Akiniha heaven". (DN 33 III 237, xviii; SN V 201 §15, 16; 202 §17; 204 §24; AN I 233; IV 13f, 145f; 380)<sup>31</sup>

Both of these definitions into types of *anāgāmin* occur in the AN. To the best of my knowledge the first is unique to AN.

### 2.2.4 Elaborations of the stage Arahāt

The following expressions for the attainment of the stage Arahāt may precede the stages and fruits elaboration.

<sup>28</sup> CPD, s.v. *antarāparinibbāyin*. The CPD for the most part follows the Kathavatthu.

<sup>29</sup> CPD, s.v. *upahacca-parinibbāyin*, following Naamoli, P] J translation, p.199.

<sup>30</sup> CPD, s.v. *asamkhāra-parinibbāyin*.

<sup>31</sup> CPD, s.v. *uddhamsoto ākiniṭṭhagāmin*. In the DN there is no indication whether the list begins with the highest or the lowest of these stages. This may be taken to indicate that the DN has incorporated this list from another source.



## Elaboration 1

- 4++ the Tathāgata,  
 4+ the Paccekabuddha. (MN *Dakkhinaṅgā Sutta*  
 142 III 254)

## Elaboration 2

- 4.i *ditṭheva dhamme paṭihacca aññam ārādheti* - "in this  
 lifetime, before death (paṭihacca?) he attains  
 knowledge"<sup>32</sup>  
 4.ii *maraṇakāle aññam ārādheti* - "he attains knowledge  
 at the time of his death". (SN V 237 §66)<sup>33</sup>

## 2.3 The different interests of the DN, MN, SN and AN<sup>34</sup>

In the DN the elaborations occur in the *Saṅgīti* (33) and the *Dasuttara Suttas* (34). The MN contains elaborations only in the *Dakkhinaṅgā Sutta* (142). In the SN and AN the elaborations of the individual stages frequently occur where the Four Stages HCH is imposed upon another independent HCHs. These two Nikāyas are independent in this respect.

<sup>32</sup> See Katz, 1982 : 19-20 for a discussion of the meaning of this term.

<sup>33</sup> The context here is the Indriya HCH, see 2.3.1.i below.

<sup>34</sup> Gethin has interesting things to say about these texts in the context of the *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*.

### 2.3.1 The SN

#### i The Indriyas HCH<sup>35</sup>

The stages are defined in relationship to an independent implied HCH based upon the progressive development of the *indriyas* - "qualities" of faith (*saddhā*), energy (*virīya*), mindfulness (*satī*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*). When these qualities are completely developed the stage attained is that of Arahat. If the attainment is somewhat weaker various attainments in sequential order of weakening are offered. These may be the other three stages of *anāgāmin*, *sakadāgāmin* and *sotāpanna*, followed by certain pre-stages (*dhammānūsārīn* and *saddhānūsārīn* SN V 200f, §§12, 13, 14), or the stage of *anāgāmin* may be replaced by the list of the five varieties of *anāgāmin* (SN V 201f §§15, 16, 17), or the sequence may be comprised of the brief version with fruits (SN V 202, §18), or the stage of *sotāpanna* of Version A may be replaced by the three types of *sotāpanna* (SN V 204 §24).

Either the function of this connection in the texts is to make the progressive development of the *indriyas*, i.e. the Indriya HCH, of increased importance by connecting it with the Four Stages HCH, or the *indriyas* were already important and the Four Stages HCH gained importance by being imposed upon their progressive development. The latter is the more likely (see §4.2.ii below). The fact that the *puṭhujjana* occurs as a pre-stage in this section of the SN (V 202) seems important. He is defined as one in whom the *indriyas* are completely absent, while both of the other pre-stages mentioned above have some degree of attainment with regard to these. For this reason the *puṭhujjana* stands outside (*bahira*) all attainment. The development of the *indriyas* seems then to have been a possible criteria for deciding whether or not a person had entered upon the path or Stream.

<sup>35</sup> See Gethin, 1992 : Chapter IV for a full study of the *indriyas*.

### ii. The Seven Factors of Awakening HCH

Two stages of Arahat (elaboration 2 in §2.2.4 above) and the elaborations of the stage of *anāgāmin* occur at SN V 69, within a HCH based on the seven factors of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*).

### iii. The Seven Fruits of Mindfulness regarding the Breathing HCH

Two stages of Arahat (elaboration 2 in §2.2.4 above) and the elaborations of the stage of *anāgāmin* occur also at SN V 314, §5, where these stages are described as "the seven fruits of (the practise of) mindfulness regarding in- and out-breathing" (*Evam bhāvītiya kho bhikkhave ānāpānasatiyā evam bahulīkatīya ime satta phalā sattānisamsā paṭīkabhā ti*).

### 2.3.2. The AN

The AN is so constructed that "each section (*nīpāta*) contains *suttas* dealing with subjects in some way connected with the number of the section".<sup>36</sup>

#### i The Three Trainings HCH. (AN I 233f)

The sequence of stages here is not influenced by its context (the Book of the Threes), which is the Three Trainings (*tisso .. sikkhā*): viz., the higher morality (*adhisīla*), the higher thought (*adhicīta*), and the higher insight (*adhipaññā*):<sup>37</sup> the sutta is rather an attempt to relate the theory of stages to this context. The Three Trainings are presented as a HCH in their own right. Stage one is the full development of the higher morality (*adhisīla*), with the other forms of training developed to a certain

measure. The four attainments which are possible at this stage are the elaborations of the stage of *sotāpanna* (§2.2.2 above). The condition for the second stage is that the higher thought (*adhicīta*) should be developed in full. The attainments which are possible at this stage are the elaborations of the stage of *anāgāmin*. The condition for the third stage is that the higher insight (*adhipaññā*) should be developed in full. What is attained at this stage is Arahatship as in Version A, 4.

#### ii The Three Categories of Fetters HCH. (AN II 134)

The stages are here defined in terms of an HCH based on a sequence of three discrete categories of fetters: (1) the fetters (binding) to the lower states (*orambhāgiya*); (2) the fetters binding to the taking up of rebirth (*uppattiṭṭhābhika*); and (3) the fetters binding to the taking up of existence (*bhavaṭṭhābhika*). The stages of development offered are that of the *sakadāgāmin* where none of these fetters are eliminated, and that of two types of *anāgāmin*: the *uddhamsota akanīṭhagāmin* (3a) where the fetter to the lower states (*orambhāgiya*) is eliminated, the *antāraparinibbāyin* (3c) where both the fetter to the lower states (*orambhāgiya*) and the fetter to the taking up of rebirth (*uppattiṭṭhābhika*) are eliminated, and that of the *Arahat* where all of these fetters are eliminated (Cf. AN II 160).

The Anguttara Nikāya is a highly coded treatise. It emphasises aspects of the Teaching according to a numerical rule. To do this it is highly selective with regard to what it presents. Does it assume that stages 1 and 2 of the standard version of the Four Stages HCH will all be understood to be included by implication in the definition of the *sakadāgāmin* and similarly that the other four of the elaborations of the stage *anāgāmin* are comprised in the definition of the *uddhamsota akanīṭhagāmin*? To the best of my knowledge the system of coding in the AN has not yet been fully studied, so it is impossible to say what may be implied in any particular case.

<sup>36</sup> Norman, 1983 : 54.

<sup>37</sup> Tr. Hare, GS I 211.

iii *The HCH of the Three Trainings and the Three Categories of Fetters.* (AN IV 13f, 145f)

This variation combines the Three Trainings and the Three Categories of Fetters HCHs. Its context is gift-worthiness, and it presents the stages as follows: the Arahat, as in 4 of the standard version, another variety of Arahat,<sup>38</sup> and the elaborations of the stage of *anāgāmin*.

iv *The Nine Types of Person HCH.* (AN IV 379-381)

This variation, based on nine types of person in conformity to its situation in the AN Book of Nines. The basis for the discrimination between types here is the monk's degree of achievement with regard to moral practice (*sīla*), concentration (*samadhi*) and insight (*paññā*). The list of stages it offers comprises the elaborations of the stage of *anāgāmin*, and the four elaborations of the stage of *sotāpanna*. Each of these stages is categorised:

*sa-upādāsesā kālaṃ kurumānā parimuttā nirayā parimuttā tiracchānāyoniyā parimuttā piṭṭivisayā parimuttā apāyaduggativinipātā.* "(they) when they die with some attached remainder, are altogether freed from hell, rebirth in the womb of an animal, the realm of ghosts, the untoward way ... lower existences."<sup>39</sup>

Either this is an expansion of the phrase *avinipāta-dhamma* - "characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences" which

<sup>38</sup> *Tassa apubbaṃ acarimaṃ āsavapariyādānaṃ ca hoti jīvitapariyādānaṃ ca.*

"For him the cankers' ending and life's ending are at the same time, not one before and one after." Tr. Hare, GS IV 9. The various types of Arahat are not studied in this work.

<sup>39</sup> Tr. Hare, GS IV 252f.

defines the stage of *sotāpanna* in Version A (1) or *avinipāta-dhamma* is an abbreviation of this phrase. In either case, by implication, all of these are *sotāpanna*.

### 3. THE INDIVIDUAL STAGES

Individual stages receive individual treatment. They may be defined separately from, or in the context of other stages. This, however, happens only with the four stages of the standard version. It does not happen with any of the elaborations. This section presents these individual treatments. The individual stages are presented under the following headings:

#### 1 *Formulas relative to the stage, including attainment formulas.*

Attainment formulas are particularly important because they indicate a relationship between the declaration of the attainment of a stage and the challenge of the debate tradition. Attainment is frequently declared before the public of the Saṅgha, as well as before the Buddha or an important disciple. It may be challenged: monks will report to the Buddha that someone has proclaimed the attainment of a stage and ask for his verification. It may be defended.<sup>40</sup>

#### 2 *Attainments.*

#### 3 *The advantages concomitant on the attainment of the stage.*

#### 4 *The method for the attainment of the stage.*

<sup>40</sup> It is possible that the declaration of Arahatship was the equivalent of announcing that one has some "esoteric secret knowledge". Cf. Witzel, 1987 : 410 and Manné, 1990 : 2.1, iii.

- 5 The relative frequency of the attainment of the stage.  
6 The subdivisions of each stage.

For reasons that will be evident, some of the stages require further headings. A review and discussion follow in §4.

### 3.2. The stage of Stream-Enterer, *sotāpanna*<sup>41</sup>

The *sotāpanna* is defined in terms of his beliefs and practices, his behaviour, his attitudes, his knowledge, his attainments, and his advantages. Methods which lead to the attainment of this stage are provided. This stage is attributed with two attainment formulas.

#### 3.2.1. Formulas that define the stage of *sotāpanna*

There are, besides the formula in Version A, three formulas that define the *sotāpanna*. These formulas describe his behaviour, A below, his beliefs and practices, B below, and his guaranteed attainment of Awakening, *sambodhi*, C below. Two of these formulas, B and C, are attainment formulas.

Two different sets of constituents, *āṅgāni*, are attributed to the stage of *sotāpanna*. They may be called either *sotāpattiyāṅgāni* "the constituents of the attainment of the stream", or *sotāpannassa āṅgāni* "the constituents of the Stream-Enterer". The distinction between these two expressions is not tightly maintained in the texts although they are not strictly synonymous. This absence of distinction suggests that what was implied in attaining the stream, "the constituents of the attainment of the stream", and the nature or "constituents of the person who had attained the stream", may once have been distinguished. Although neither of these terms is specific to, or dominates, a particular Nikāya, the

<sup>41</sup> See Masefield, 1986 : 134f for a discussion of the etymology of this term.

different sets of constituents are text-specific. What I have called the Behaviour Formula, (A), occurs only in the DN and the SN while what I have called the Belief and Practice Formula (B), occurs only in the DN, SN and AN. It cannot be excluded that two separate schools of thought existed, for one of which it was the constituents of Stream-entry - *sotāpattiyāṅgāni* that were important, while for the other it was the constituents of the Stream-Enterer - *sotāpannassa āṅgāni*. The constituents in each group are rather general, and, rather self-evidently, comprise the qualities that any religion would require of its followers. The elements of A cover behaviour and require a more active dedication to the practice, whereas those in B form a sort of *Credo*: followers were encouraged to convert their friends and family to the faith, expressed in that way (SN V 364, §16). The *Credo* is the formula that occurs most frequently.

#### A. The Behaviour Formula

*Sappurisa-saṃsavo, saddhamma-savanaṃ, yoniso-manasikāro, dhammānu-dhamma-ṭṭipatti* - "He is one who associates with the good, hears the true Teaching, pays proper attention, and practices the Teaching in its completeness." (DN 33 III 227, §xiii. Cf. SN V 347, 404, etc.)<sup>42</sup>

I will refer to this expression as the Behaviour Formula because it describes what the *sotāpanna* does. Although this formula is rather vague, and none of its terms refer to specific practices, it indicates that practice was considered important.

<sup>42</sup> Unless I have overlooked it, this expression does not occur in MN nor in the AN in this connection, although it does occur in the AN [II 245] in a different context.

## B. The Belief and Practice Formula - a *Credo*

This is an attainment formula. The belief system and moral practice of the *sotāpanna* is described in a different set of four constituents, the first three of which concern his faith while the last is concerned with his moral practice. These features comprise not only the attainments of the *sotāpanna*, but also one of his attainment formulas, expressions which when uttered in the first person identify the speaker as a *sotāpanna*.

*Cattāri sotāpannassa aṅgāni,*

- 1 *Idh'āvuso ariya-sāvako Buddhe avecca-ppasādena samannāgato hoti - "Iti pi so Bhagavā araham Sammā-Sambuddho vijjā-caraṇa-saṃpanno sugato loka-viātū anuttaro purisa-damma-sārathi satthā devaā-manussānaṃ Buddho Bhagavā ti"*
- 2 *Dhamme avecca-ppasādena samannāgato hoti - "Svākkhāto Bhagavatā Dhammo sandīṭṭhiko akāliko ehi-passiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhīti."*
- 3 *Samghe avecca-ppasādena samannāgato hoti - "Supaṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Samghe, ujju-ṭaṭipanno Bhagavato savaka-Samghe, ñaya-ṭaṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Samghe, sāmīci-ṭaṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Samghe yadidaṃ cattāri purisa-yugāni, aṭṭha purisa-puggalā, eso Bhagavato sāvaka-Samghe āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dukkhineyyo añjali-kāraṇiyo anuttaraṃ puñña-kkhettaṃ lokassaṭi."*
- 4 *Ariya-kantehi sīlehi samanāgato hoti akhaṇḍehi acchiddehi asabaḍehi akammāsehi bhujissehi viññuppassatthehi aparāmatthehi samādhisamvattanikehi.*

"The four constituents of the Stream-enterer: In this connection, friends, the Ariyan disciple has absolute faith in: (1) in the Buddha: "So he too, the Exalted one, is Arahant, supremely

enlightened, full of wisdom and goodness, Blessed One, world-knower, peerless driver and tamer of men, teacher of devas and men, Buddha, Exalted One!" (2) the Teaching: - Well proclaimed by the Exalted One is the Teaching, effective in this life, immediate, open to all, leading us onward, to be known personally by the wise. (3) the Order: - Well-practised is the Order of the Exalted One's disciples, living uprightly, practising right conduct and the proper course, which is the four pairs of persons; the eight classes of individuals; the view that this Order of the Exalted One's disciples is worthy of veneration, of offerings, of gifts, of reverent greetings, (and that it is) the unsurpassed field of merit of the world. (4) Endowed is he with moral practices lovely to the noble, fully observed, faultless, unspotted, unblemished, making men free, commended by the wise, uncorrupted, conducive to concentration.'(DN 33 III 227, §xiv. Also at AN IV 406; SN V 343f, 345 etc.)<sup>43</sup>

I will refer to this expression henceforth as the Belief and Practice Formula because "1" - "3" above express the *Credo* of the *sotāpanna* and "4" his moral practice (*sīla*).

The moral practice requirement, "4" above, suffers several adaptations. Some of the adaptations may be regarded as creative (oral-)literary inventions, as poetic license or as mistakes, made in good faith, caused by the way the Teaching was promulgated. Other types of adaptations, by contrast, simply introduce other features of the Teaching where it seems that they did not originally belong. A further group of

<sup>43</sup> Unless I have overlooked it, this expression is not found in MN in connection with the *sotāpanna*. These beliefs may appear under the name of "Four Dhammas" (SN V 342f, 346f, 351, 356, etc.), "Four Results of Merit: Four Skills" (*puññābhisaṅdha kusalaḥhisanda*, SN V 391f), or "Four Deva-paths to the Devas". (Tr. Woodward, KS V 337. *devānaṃ devapadāni*. SN V 392f.)

adaptations, however, are evidently purpose-serving in the worst possible sense of the term. These function in ways that help the institutionalised religion to control its lay-followers through a system of spiritual rewards. The adaptations all occur in the *Sotāpattisamyutta*, SN V 342-413.

One adaptation is simply synonymous. It introduces a condition based on the rules of the training for laymen. After hearing a sermon on the importance of conforming to the *āṅgāni* above, Anāthapiṇḍika, the house-father (*gahapati*), declares, in brief, that he conforms to conditions "1" - "3" and adds:

- 4.i *Yāni cimāni bhante Bhagavatā ghisāmīcīkāni sikkhāpadāni desitāni nāhaṃ tesam kiñci atāni khaṇḍam samanupassāmi ti* - "... as to those obligations binding on a housefather, pointed out by the Exalted One, I see not a single one of them which is broken in me." (SN V 387)<sup>44</sup>

Upon hearing this, Ānanda praises Anāthapiṇḍika and acknowledges him as a *sotāpanna*. The obligations binding on the housefather and on all laymen, are to abstain from killing any living being (*pāṇātipāṭi*), from stealing (*adinnādāna*), from unlawful sexual intercourse (*kāmesu micchācāra*), from lying (*musāvādā*), and from the use of intoxicants (*surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhāna*). These obligations are also known as the five *sīla*. As the standard fourth feature of this utterance concerns the *sīla*, this expression must be regarded as a variation upon it.

One evidently purpose-serving variation promotes generosity towards the monks. Here (SN V 348-352) the Buddha is in discussion with some chamberlains, functionaries of some position in the royal household.<sup>45</sup> When he tells them under which conditions a person is a *sotāpanna*, instead of "4" above, he proposes:

<sup>44</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS V 333.

<sup>45</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS V 303, see especially explanatory footnote no. 1.

- 4.ii *vigatamalamaccherena cetasā agāram ajjhāvasati / muttacāgo payatapāni vossaggarato yācayogo dānasamvihhāgarato.* "He lives at home with heart free from the taint of stinginess. He is open-handed, pure-handed, delighting in self-surrender, one to ask a favour of, delighting to share charitable gifts," (SN V 351. Cf. SN V 392, 397).<sup>46</sup>

and further on in the sutta:

- 4.iii *Yaṃ kho pana kiñci kule deyyadhammaṃ sabban tam appaṭivibhattaṃ silavantehi kalyāṇadhammehi.* "In your family, whatever gifts of charity there be, are shared fully and impartially by the virtuous and the good." (SN V 352)<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS V 306. In SN V 397 the questioner asks about the "the advanced (*ariya*) disciple in whom the the constituents of the attainment of the stream do not exist" (*ariyasāvaka* *cuttāri sotāpattiyāṅgāni ...natthi*). The literal translation for *ariyasāvaka* is "the noble/exalted disciple", but I think that phrase is misleading in English and not really true to the Pāli, being too literary and missing the sense.) The reply is that such a person (*yassa*) stands outside [all attainments] and is designated an "ordinary man" (*puthujjana* *Bāhiro puthujanapakke phito ti vadāmi*). In the explanation that follows, however, the term *ariyasāvaka* is repeated without the qualification *cuttāri sotāpattiyāṅgāni*. It is easy to construe the text as if the term *ariyasāvako* is meant to pick up and be synonymous with expression *ariyasāvaka* *cuttāri sotāpattiyāṅgāni*. I think that that is what the redactors want of their audience, and indeed I have followed it in my analysis. I have doubts, however, and I wonder whether an examination of this type of literary construction, namely the dropping of the qualifying phrase in a response, could provide some evidence that, for example, the phrase *cuttāri sotāpattiyāṅgāni* is in fact a later insert: it would prove it if the texts usually picked up the whole expression in these cases.

<sup>47</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS V 306.

This freedom with the fourth condition did not escape remark by the inquiring minds of the time, and there is evidence that there was an unresolved question whether there were in fact three conditions, "1" - "3" above, or four conditions, "1" - "4" above, before one could be called a *sotāpanna* (SN V 371ff), i.e. whether faith was enough or whether some degree of practice was necessary. I say "unresolved", because the Buddha provides no solution in the sutta in which this problem comes up.<sup>48</sup>

Despite this general blithe tendency to open the stage of *sotāpanna* to all and sundry through simplifying the required attainment to that of faith alone, one sutta contains a warning. When asked if a disciple who possessed "the constituents of the attainment of the stream", the *sotāpattiyaṅgāmi*, could ever be described as "One who lives in indolence" (*pamāḍavihāri*), the Buddha replies that indeed he could as long as he was content with these attainments and made no further effort (SN V 398).

### C. The *sotāpanna* attainment formula

I refer to this attainment formula as the "*sotāpanna* attainment formula", simply because the term *sotāpanna* occurs within it and with no implication that it is more or less important than the Beliefs and Practices attainment formula. The existence of an attainment formula relates the attainment of stages to the Debate tradition where the assertion of one's religious expertise designates what one is willing to be challenged upon and to defend in public.<sup>49</sup> Just as there are various attainment formulas that may be formally recited upon becoming an Arahāt or which when formally recited indicate that the speaker is an

<sup>48</sup> Or the answer has been lost, or was inconvenient and so intentionally left out.

<sup>49</sup> See Witzel, 1987 : 374, Manné, 1990.

Arahāt,<sup>50</sup> there are attainment formulas which, when recited, indicate that the speaker has attained *sotāpanna*. One of these is the Beliefs and Practices Formula, B above. The other is:

*khīṇanirayo 'mhi khīṇatiracchānayoṇi khīṇapittivīsayo khīṇāpāyaduggatavinipāto, sotāpanno 'ham asmi avinipātādhammo niyato sambodhiparāyano.* "Gone, for me, is (a future existence in) hell, gone the realm of animals, gone the realm of spirits (*petā*), gone is suffering in the realms of misery; I am a Stream-Enterer, characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences, restrained, heading for Enlightenment." (AN IV 405; DN 16 [II 93]; SN V 387, etc.)<sup>51</sup>

This is the great advantage of the attainment of becoming a *sotāpanna*. These conditions correspond to the attainments in the standard version of the Four Stages formula.

These two *sotāpanna* attainment formulas are quite different in content: one concerns faith and practice while the other concerns rebirth in hell. Although the Beliefs and Practices formula has no reference to this freedom from low rebirths and this assuredness of awakening, at least one attestation links the attainments expressed in these two formulas: the SN says that once the four beliefs and practices, here called *dhammas*, are attained, "There is no terror, there is no panic, there is no fear of death in terms of (fearing) what belongs to the next world." (*na hoti uttāso na hoti chambittatāṃ na hoti samprāyikam maraṇabhayan* &. SN V 387)

<sup>50</sup> See e.g. Erghart, 1977 for those in the MN.

<sup>51</sup> There is an indication at SN V 361f that this Buddhist attainment of liberation from rebirth in a hell is linked to brahmin beliefs concerning the importance of attaining rebirth in heaven: in this sutta the Buddha ridicules brahmin practices which purportedly lead to being reborn in heaven.

### 3.2.2 The attainments of the stage of *sotāpanna*

The attainments of the *sotāpanna* may be comprised in terms of the elements of Version A.1 of the Four Stages HCH, in terms of the formulas that define the *sotāpanna*, in terms of conditions for uttering the attainment formulas, or in terms of the attainment of specific skill in, or understanding of features of the Training.

The behaviour, the belief system and the moral practices of the *sotāpanna* are his general attainments: they are levels of conduct and thought that he has achieved. Whereas the Behaviour Formula is not much exploited by the texts and does not serve as an attainment formula, the Beliefs and Practices Formula is defined as an attainment formula and is extensively exploited. The conditions under which it may be uttered are specifically defined. Sometimes these conditions relate directly to the Beliefs and Practices formula, sometimes they relate to it indirectly. The conditions for uttering the *sotāpanna* attainment formula overlap with those for uttering the Beliefs and Practices formula.

The most obvious condition for pronouncing the Beliefs and Practices formula is that the disciple is possessed of the Beliefs and Practices in the formula (cf. also SN V 357). The conditions may also be defined under the poetic name of the Fivefold Guilty Dread (*pañca bhayāni verāṇi*, SN II 68f).<sup>52</sup> The Fivefold Guilty Dread comes about if the moral requirements (*sīla*, the fourth condition of the Beliefs and Practices Formula), are not fulfilled. This is a "behaviour" condition. According to some suttas this formula may be pronounced on the sole condition that the Fivefold Guilty Dread is removed (AN IV 405 and SN II 68ff, V 387ff).

The formal requirements that permit the utterance of the *sotāpanna* attainment formula overlap extensively with those for uttering

<sup>52</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS II 47.

the Beliefs and Practices formula but are defined in a somewhat different way. The conditions are not always consistent.

The requirement of behaviour may here also be expressed as the removal of the Fivefold Guilty Dread. The requirement of belief and moral practice may be tautologically defined as the possession of the beliefs and moral practices of the *sotāpanna* (here called *sotāpattiyaṅgāni*). Further, a requirement of knowledge called "the noble rule, well-seen and well-penetrated by insight" (*ariya ñāya*), may be added (*ariyo cassa ñāyo paññāya sudiṭṭho hoti supativedhho*. SN II 70; cf. SN V 387ff). The attainment *ariya ñāya* is a specific, rather than a general attainment and refers to a particular aspect of the Teaching. It means thoroughly and systematically giving the mind to "dependant origination" - *paṭiccasamuppāda*: "This being, that comes to be; this not being, that does not come to be. From the arising of this, that arises; from the ceasing of this, that ceases" (*Iti imasmim sati idam hoti / imasmim asati idam na hoti / imassuppādā idam uppajjati / imassa nirodhā idam nirujjhati*). The processes that depend sequentially upon each other for their coming into existence are: "ignorance, activities, consciousness, name and form, the six sense-modalities, contact, feeling, craving, clinging, becoming, rebirth, and death" (*avijjā, sankhārā, viññāṇa, nāmarūpa, salāyatana, phassa, vedanā, tanhā, upādāna, bhava, jāti, maraṇa*).<sup>53</sup>

Further conditions for the utterance of the *sotāpanna* attainment formula may be expressed in terms of the attainment of "seven good practices and four desirable states" (*sattahi saddhammehi samannāgato ...catuhi ākankhiyehi thānehī*. SN V 352-356). The seven good practices are divided into two in the form of purity in bodily conduct: not taking life and not stealing; one in the form of purity in personal conduct in terms of abstaining from wrong practices in respect of sense desires (the example in this sermon is based on not committing adultery); and four in

<sup>53</sup> For a study of this process see Johansson, 1979.



the form of purity of speech: avoiding lying, slandering, harshness and aimless chatter. Both personal purity and abstinence are required, as is encouraging like behaviour in others. The four desirable states are the contents of the Beliefs and Practices formula. These conditions amount to the moral requirements (*sīla*), with the exclusion of the condition regarding intoxicating substances. They are particularly offered to lay people who describe themselves as materially ambitious - wanting houses, children, perfumes and money, and who have among their desires the wish to be reborn in heaven.

### 3.2.3 Attainments defined in terms of specific skills in, or understandings of the Teaching

The attainments of the *sotāpanna* are defined according to many different features of the Teaching. The suttas containing these further aspects are very much a feature of the *Sotāpattisaṃyutta*, SN V 342-413, although they are not limited to this textual location.

A definition of the constituents of Stream-Entry (*sotāpattiyangāni*, SN V 347f) in terms of the Noble Eightfold Path - *aṭṭhaṅgika magga* is attributed to Sāriputta. In this sutta the Buddha and Sāriputta may be said to be in a game of definitions or riddles. Sāriputta defines these constituents thus: *sota* is the Noble Eightfold Path which comprises right view, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration (*ariya aṭṭhaṅgika magga: sammā-dīṭṭhi, -sankappa, -vācā, -kammanta, -ājīva, -vāyāma, -sati, samādhi*), and the *sotāpanna* as someone who has achieved that path. This is a problem because a classical aspect of the attainments of the Arahats is that he has completely followed and fully achieved the path leading to the extinction of the *āsava*s, which is precisely this Noble Eightfold Path (MN I 55; etc.). Later in this chapter of the SN the Buddha praises Sāriputta for his ability to divide the *sotāpattiyangāni* in ten ways. It is not clear what is meant as Sāriputta

has enumerated aspects "1" - "4" of the beliefs of the *sotāpanna*, the factors of the Noble Eightfold Path (as above), right knowledge (*sammāñāṇa*) and right release (*sammāvimumāṣa*). Perhaps on this occasion the Buddha did not count individually the elements of the *sotāpanna* beliefs, or did not count them at all.

A stipulation is made in SN III 203, 23 that when doubt regarding six<sup>54</sup> points has been abandoned and also when doubt about suffering, the arising of suffering, the ceasing of suffering and the path to the ceasing of suffering has been abandoned, then the person can be called a *sotāpanna*.<sup>55</sup> The six views, as the MN (I 135f) explains so much more clearly, are that whatever depends on (1) physical form (*rūpa*), (2) feeling (*vedanā*), (3) perception (*saññā*), (4) conditioned states (*saṃkhāras*), (5) consciousness (*viññāṇa*) or (6) a mental activity<sup>56</sup> is impermanent (*anicca*) and suffering (*dukkha*) and is liable to change (*vipariṇāmadhamma*). A person who is not clinging to what is impermanent, suffering and liable to change will not take up various defined wrong ideas. These wrong ideas - a truly marvellous compendium of them - are, in brief:

- "Winds do not blow, rivers do not flow, pregnant women do not bring forth, moon and sun neither rise nor set, but (all) are stable as a pillar" *Na vatā vāyanti na nājjo sandanti na gabbhinīyo*

<sup>54</sup> The Burmese text has *ca* here, so it is possible that the expression means doubt about the points made in the sermon. Woodward comments, "It is hard to know how six are made out". (KS III 165, fn.1)

<sup>55</sup> *sotāpanna avinipātadhammo nīyato sambodhīparāyāno ti*, SN III 203, and in each of the suttas in this chapter of the SN.

<sup>56</sup> *Yam piḍam dīṭṭhaṃ sutam mutaṃ viññātam patam pariyesitam anuvacitāma manasā* "what is seen, heard, sensed, known, attained, sought after, thought out by the mind". See Gombrich, 1990 : 15f for the relationship between these views and Yājñavalkya's views in BāU.

*vijāyanti na candimasūriyā uḍenti vā apenti vā esikaṭṭhāyitṭhātā ti.*<sup>57</sup>

- "This is mine, this is me, this is my self" *Etam mama eso ham asmi eso me attā ti.*<sup>58</sup>
- "This is the self, this is the world, this I will be after death: permanent, lasting, eternal, not liable to change" *So attā so loko so pecca bhavissāmi nicco dhuvo sassato aviparīṇāmadhammoti.*
- "I would not be, and it would not be mine; I shall not be, and it shall not be mine" *No cassaṃ na ca me siyā na bhavissāmi na me bhavissatīti.*<sup>59</sup>
- The annihilationist doctrine that there is no fruit of good or evil deeds, not beings who have attained perfection, nor life after death.<sup>60</sup>
- The heresy that there is neither evil nor merit.<sup>61</sup>
- The accidentalist heresy that there are neither conditions nor causes.<sup>62</sup>
- Another wrong way of viewing the world including ideas of permanence, and ideas that there are no causes.<sup>63</sup>
- "The world is eternal" *sassato loko ti.*
- "The world is not eternal" *asassato loko ti.*
- "The world is limited" *antavā loko ti.*
- "The world is unlimited" *anantavā loko ti.*
- "The soul is the body" *Taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ ti.*
- "The soul is one thing, the body is another" *aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ ti.*
- "The Tathāgata exists" *hoti tathāgato.*

<sup>57</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS III 164.

<sup>58</sup> Tr. Gombrich, 1990: 15.

<sup>59</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS III 48.

<sup>60</sup> The doctrine of Ajitakesakambala, cf. DN I 55, § 23.

<sup>61</sup> The view of Pūraṇa Kassapa, cf. DN I 52, § 16.

<sup>62</sup> The heresy of Makkhali-Gosāla, cf. DN I 53, § 19.

<sup>63</sup> That of Pakkudha Kaccāyana, cf. DN I 56, § 26, combined with that of Makkhali-Gosāla, cf. DN I 53f, § 20.

- "The Tathāgata does not exist" *na hoti Tathāgato.*
- "The Tathāgata both exists and does not exist" *hoti ca na ca hoti Tathāgato.*
- "The Tathāgata neither exists nor does not exist" *neva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato.* (SN III 202-216)

The attainment of the *soṭāpanna* in this respect is that he has no doubt that bodily form and mental processes are impermanent (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha*) and liable to change (*aviparīṇāmadhamma*), and is hence free of the wrong views above, although is not yet liberated. The SN here, as in the previous example, opposes the *soṭāpanna* with the Arahāt. It points out that the person who is liberated, the Arahāt, has turned away from (*nibbindatī*) all of these processes (SN III 224, §20).

There are also conditions based on the attainment of certain qualities, *indriyas*.<sup>64</sup> Several variations on the definition of the *soṭāpanna* each with a new condition for the attainment of this stage, and a different Arahāt formula from the one that usually occurs in this context (Version A, 4) occur further on in the SN in a series of four suttas in a chapter on *indriyas* (SN V 193f ii-v). Instead of being defined in terms of the more usual Three Fetters condition, the *soṭāpanna* is defined in terms of a Five Indriya condition:

*Yato ... ariyasāvako imesam pañcannam indriyānaṃ samudayañca atthagamañca assādañca ādinavañca nissaraṇañca yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti / ayam vuccati bhikkhave ariyasāvako soṭāpanno avinipāta-dhammo nīyato sambodhi-parāyano ti.* "A noble disciple, brethren, is called "A noble disciple, a Stream-Enterer, characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences, restrained, having

<sup>64</sup> This term may refer to qualities of conduct or to the six sense faculties.

Enlightenment as his goal,' when he understands as they really are, the rising, the disappearance, the satisfaction, the danger, and freedom from these Five Qualities."<sup>65</sup>

Here the five qualities (*indriyas*) are faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), mindfulness (*satī*), concentration (*samādhi*) and insight (*paññā*).<sup>66</sup> Once again the stages of *sotāpanna* and Arahāt are contrasted with each other. The stage of Arahāt<sup>67</sup> is attained by "seeing" (*viditvā*) the five *indriyas* above, whereas the activity or attainment of the *sotāpanna* is "understanding" (*pañānā*) them.

Further new definitions for the attainments of the stage of *sotāpanna*, which use the same formula as above, are expressed in terms of a Six Sense-Faculty condition, (also *indriyas*):<sup>68</sup> the faculties of the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, and the mind (*cakkhundriya*, *sotindriya*, *ghānindriya*, *jivhindriya*, *kāyindriya*, *manindriya*. SN V 205 para 26.(5)) and a different five *Indriya* condition: happiness, suffering, joy, dejection, and equanimity (*sukh*, *dukkh*, *somanass*, *domanass* and *upekkhindriya*. SN V 207, §32.(2)).<sup>69</sup>

In this section of the SN, *indriyas* of all sorts are very important.

<sup>65</sup> SN V 193 § 3, cf. SN V 193, § 2 which omits *samudayañica attangamañica*. The last part of this formula appears in the formula through which the attainment of *sotāpanna* is declared. See 3.2.5 below.

<sup>66</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS V 169.

<sup>67</sup> Here this stage is described by a different arahāt formula from that which usually occurs in this context ((4) above), *arahaṃ khīṇāsavo vusitavā katakaraṇiyo ohitabhāro anuppattasadaṭṭho parikkhābhavasamyojano sammadaññā vimuto*.

<sup>68</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS V 181.

<sup>69</sup> In both of these cases the subsequent sutta defines the arahāt in terms of these *indriyas*, and uses the formula *Yato ... ariyasāvako ... above*.

### 3.2.4. The advantages of having attained the stage of *sotāpanna*.

The advantages of having attained the fruit of Stream-Entry are, of course, implied in all of the attainments and all of the formulas above. They will not be repeated here. The texts, however, also specify them in this way: the *sotāpanna* has: (i) certainty as to the True Teaching, (ii) no tendency to diminution (of attainment, presumably), (iii) none of the suffering of a limited person, and (iv) endowment with uncommon knowledge; (v) he has both understood the cause and the dhammas that have come about through the cause (*saddhammaniyo hoti, aparihānadhammo hoti, pariyantakatassa dukkhaṃ na hoti, asādhāraṇena ñāṇena samannāgato hoti, hetu c'assa suditṭho hevasamuppannā ca dhammā*. AN III 441, XCV). The *sotāpanna* has gone beyond simply hearing the Teaching and having faith in it he has entered upon certainty. There is no mention of freedom from rebirth in this list.

#### Summary of §§3.2.1-4

What we have observed is that the Beliefs and Practices formula fulfils several functions. It both expresses and defines *sotāpanna* attainments, it functions as an attainment formula and it expresses the conditions under which a person may declare himself a *sotāpanna*. These conditions are to a certain degree uncertain. Even if the requirements of this formula are fulfilled, further conditions may be added. Attainment may be declared through this or through a different formula. The conditions under which this formula may be declared are similarly not always consistent. Neither formula mentions freedom from rebirth though this aspect may occur in a sutta that contains the formula.<sup>70</sup> We have further observed that attainments may also be expressed according

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. SN V 387. I have not searched for more examples.

to many different features of the Teaching. The essential attainment of the *sotāpanna* is the moral code, *sīlas*, more or less strictly adhered to. The inclusion of other attainments is unconvincing. One is left with the impression of attainments in search of a named stage, the stage being a definable measurement.

### 3.2.5 The method for attaining the stage of *sotāpanna*.

Several methods are provided for attaining the stage of *sotāpanna*. These methods are expressed in two ways: what must be thought or done specifically for attaining this stage; and what must be done in terms of a particular element of the Teaching which, through being cultivated, will lead to Stream-Entry and to each of the other three stages progressively. Methods may be specified or implied. The *sotāpanna* formula in Version A implies a method which leads to the disappearance of the three fetters. The basic method for attaining this and the other stages is the cultivation of the moral requirements (*sīla*, AN I 231f). It is further necessary to aim to fulfil the qualifications of the Behaviour formula and the Beliefs and Practices formula, to be generous and charitable to the monks; to understand dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*); and to conform to certain *indriya* conditions.

Some suttas specify that the method for development through the stages depends on more practice of the same thing. For example, in order to attain this stage and the three further stages one needs to develop progressively the practice of "mindfulness centred on the body" (*kāyagatā-sati* AN I 44). The correct contemplation of the five grasping groups (*pañcupādānakkhandā*), in order to be able to see them as "impermanent, suffering, a disease, an abscess, a sting (arrow), a pain, an affliction, alien, decaying, empty, and without self" (*anicato dukkhato rogato gaṇḍato sallato aghato ābāhato parato palokato suññato anattato yoniso manasi katubbā*. SN III 167f, §122) will also lead to this attainment. Instead of the initial requirement that the monk be

well-taught (*sūlavā*), the requirement that he have his moral practice in order (*sīlavā*) may be found (SN III 167f, §123).

The method for attaining the fruit of Stream-Entry is defined in terms of the Behaviour formula: it requires the development and the practice of these behaviours (SN V 410f).

Conditions that preclude the attainment of this stage and, obviously, of any of the others, are also described. This implies that training to avoid these specified conditions forms an aspect of the method for attaining the stage. Thus a bhikkhu who perceives permanence in the conditioned states (*saṅkhāras*) cannot achieve the appropriate intellectual receptivity<sup>71</sup> for attaining any of the four stages. So he must train himself in the direction of perceiving impermanence (AN III 441, XCVI).

There is no record in DN, MN, AN or SN of an individualised or personal instruction for the attainment of this stage.

### 3.2.6 The Relative Frequency of the Attainment of the stage of *sotāpanna*.

With regard to relative frequency of attainment of the four stages, there is only one sutta, SN V 406 (§§ 6-8), that gives any information. This sutta says that there are few (*appakā*) monks who are arahats, more (*bahutarā*) who are *opapātikas* (§ 6), even more who are *sakadāgamins* (§ 7) and even more who are *sotāpannas* (§ 8). The stage of *sotāpanna* is, thus, the most frequently attained stage.

### 3.2.7 Types of *sotāpanna*

#### *i* The Once-Returner (*sakadāgamin*) as *sotāpanna*

The lists of §2.2.2 offered four types of *sotāpanna* defined according to the number of rebirths each could expect, *sattakhattuparama*, 7

<sup>71</sup> BHSD, s.v. *anulomikā khanti*.

rebirths; *kolankola*, 2 - 3 rebirths; *ekabjīn*, one seed or potential; *sakadāgāmin*, 1 rebirth. The structure of this passage shows that it regarded the *sakadāgāmin* as a type of *sotāpanna*.<sup>72</sup>

### ii The Non-Returner (*anāgāmin*) as *sotāpanna*

An AN sutta (V 120) defines five *sotāpannas*, who are perfected here on earth (*ūtha nīṭhā*): the *sattakkhattuparama*, the *kolankola*, the *ekabjīn*, the *sakadāgāmin*, and one who is an Arahāt in this lifetime (*yo ca dīṭṭhe' eva dhamme arahā*); and a further five Stream-Enterers who, having abandoned this place, i.e. the earth, (*ūtha viṭṭva*), are perfected: the *antarāparinibbāyin*, the *upahaccaparinibbāyin*, the *asankhārāparinibbāyin*, the *sasankhārāparinibbāyin*, and the *uddhamṣota akaniṭṭhagāmin* (see §2.2.3. Cf. also AN V 119f). As the latter group attain their liberation from a different world from this one, they are *anāgāmin*.

### iii The Arahāt as a *sotāpanna*<sup>73</sup>

The *sotāpatti-samyutta* (SN V 342-413) shows that the category *sotāpanna* could be very wide, and that the Arahāt too could fall within it. An AN sutta (V 120) is clear about this. In it the Buddha is says, "All those who have perfect faith in me are Stream-Enterers" (*ye keci bhikkhave mayi aveccappasannā, sabbe te sotāpannā*). In any case it makes sense that each advanced stage of development includes the attainments of the previous less advanced stage.

<sup>72</sup> The arguments in favour of this position can be found in §§ 2.2.2 and 4.3.4.

<sup>73</sup> See Bareau, 1955 : 261.

## 3.3. The stage of Once-Returner, *sakadāgāmin*

Although this stage has considerable importance in the AN elaborations of the brief standard version, I have barely been able to find a passage that makes a more individual reference to it and its contingent qualities and attainments. Hence most of the headings which I proposed in the introduction to this section are empty.

### 3.3.1 Formulas that define the stage of *sakadāgāmin*

The only formula attached to this stage occurs in Version A of the Four Stages HCH. This stage has no attainment formula.

### 3.3.2 The Attainments of the stage of *sakadāgāmin*

Besides the attainments of reducing passion, hatred and delusion (*rāgadosamohānaṃ*), expressed in the standard formula, this stage is not attributed with clear conditions under which its attainment can be ascertained. Only at SN V 411 does this stage appear at all individually. There four dhammas are proclaimed which when developed lead to the attainment of the fruit of this stage. The sutta stops there. The repetitive nature of this part of SN must mean us to understand these dhammas to be the same as the four constituents of the *sotāpanna* (3.2.1.B), and specified in the preceding sutta (SN V 410f), and to apply to the fruits of the attainment of the stage of *anāgāmin* and Arahāt (see SN V 411, the following suttas). It may be that the text wants in this way to make the point that each attainment includes the accomplishments of the previous attainment. If this is the case, it is not very clearly put. In any case, at this point in this part of the SN, everything seems to be the same as everything else and all distinctions seem to be falling away.

### 3.3.3 The advantages of having attained the stage of *sakadāgāmin*.

The advantages contingent upon the attainment of this stage are not set forth in the texts under study beyond their appearance in the standard version of the Four Stages HCH. By implication, and as the etymology of the name indicates, the great advantage to this stage was that only one reincarnation was required before liberation would be attained.

### 3.3.4 The method for the attainment of the stage of *sakadāgāmin*.

There is no method given in these texts for moving up to this particular stage from the stage of *sotāpanna* besides that to be inferred from the standard formula, namely, effort towards the attainment of the diminution of passion, hatred and delusionment (*rāga, dosa* and *moha*).

### 3.3.5 The Relative frequency of attainment of the stage of *sakadāgāmin*.

The stage *sakadāgāmin* is more frequently attained than the stages *arahat* and *opapātika*, and less frequently attained than *sotāpanna*. (SN V 406, cf. §3.2.6)

### 3.3.6 Types of *sakadāgāmin*

Rather than there being types of *sakadāgāmin*, the lists of §2.2.2 suggest that the *sakadāgāmin* was a type of *sotāpanna*. (See §3.2.7.)

### 3.4 The stage of Non-Returner, *opapātika/anāgāmin*

This stage presents us with two particular problems: (1) its terminology, as this stage is known under two names; and (2) the way it is defined. In defining this stage, the central issues that the texts are involved with are the difference between a Returner and a Non-Returner, the different types of Non-Returners, and the difference between the Non-Returner and the Arahāt. Passages devoted to defining the psychology or the mental state of the *anāgāmin* him- or herself are rare, and there are none devoted to defining that of the *opapātika*.

In this section I will begin by considering the terminology. After that the headings will conform to those of the previous sections. The issue of the difference between a Returner and a Non-returner will be treated in the section on attainments (§3.4.2). The issue of the difference between the Non-Returner and the Arahāt is treated in its own section, after a brief section on the Arahāt (§3.5).

#### The Terminology

This stage is designated by two terms: *opapātika* and *anāgāmin*. The term *opapātika* is rather precise and comes from what we might call a biological context, but which in terms of ancient India is probably more accurately considered philosophical; it means "born by spontaneous generation". The word *anāgāmin* means simply "not coming back". These terms are not used interchangeably in the same expressions; rather, each one has its own territory. The term *opapātika* is standard where all four stages are expressed in the standard version of this case history, where the attainment of this stage is expressed separately from the other stages but in terms of the standard expression (MN ii 146), and in debate and mythical contexts. In formulas related to psychological aspects, including attainments, but with the exception of the standard version, the

term *anāgāmin* is used. Neither of these terms appear in the elaborations of this HCH.

### i The term "*opapātika*".

Both the contexts and the formulas within which the term *opapātika* occurs independently of its connection with the other stages, suggest that it is an ancient term. The context is either a Debate or it is connected with mythology.

The debate context concerns the wrong view: "There is no gift, no offering, no sacrifice; there is no fruit or ripening of deeds well done or ill done; this world is not, the world beyond is not; there is no mother, no father, no beings spontaneously reborn (*opapātikā*); there are no recluses and brāhmins in the world who have gone right, who fare rightly, men who by their own comprehension have realised this world and the world beyond and thus declare."<sup>74</sup>

A similar expression occurs in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (DN I 1 27). Here the "evasive arguer" (*amarā-vikkhepika*) will avoid giving an answer to a number of points including whether the *opapātika* exists, does not exist, both exists and does not exist, neither exists nor does not exist (*Atthi satā opapātikā? N'atthi satā opapātikā? Atthi ca n'atthi ca satā opapātikā? N'ev' atthi na n'atthi satā opapātikā*), whether deeds have results (*sukatadukkaṭṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko*), whether a world beyond exists - *paraloka*, and whether the Tathāgata exists. Further there is Kassapa's argument in the *Pāyāsi Sutta* (DN 23): the

<sup>74</sup> *natthi dīnaṃ natthi yijjhaṃ natthi hutaṃ, natthi sukaṭadukkaṭṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko, natthi ayaṃ loko natthi paro loko, natthi mātā natthi pitā natthi sattā opapātikā, natthi loke samaṇabrāhmaṇā sammaggatā sammāpaṭipanna, ye imā ca lokaṃ paraṃ ca lokaṃ sayāṃ abhirūṇā sacchikarvā pavuddenti ti.* AN V 265 (tr. Woodward, GS V 178) and variously. This expression occurs in each of DN, MN, AN and SN. See CPD, s.v. *opapātika*. The relationship between *opapātika* and *anāgāmin* has been overlooked by the CPD.

whole of this sutta is a debate about this view. One of Kassapa's points in this argument is that the world beyond, *opapātikas*, and the results of deeds cannot be seen by the physical eye (*maṃsa-cakkhu*), but only by a sufficiently trained person who has developed the Divine Eye (*dibba cakkhu*).

The term *opapātika* occurs also in contexts which demonstrate that it formed part of contemporary mythology, although at the time it might have been believed to express a biological fact. One occurrence is concerned with defining types of birth: "There are four types of birth: oviparous, viviparous, from moisture, spontaneously" (*Catasso yoniyo. Andaja-yoni, jalābujja-yoni, samsedaja-yoni, opapātika-yoni.* DN 33 III 230. §xxvi; MN 12 I 73; SN III 240-5. That this context is mythical is shown in the SN (III 240-246), which concerns *Nāgas*, who are mythical beings. Their birth is described as being of four types as above, with the *opapātika* being the best type. Each of these types of *nāga*, however, is equally keen to keep the sacred days in order to achieve rebirth in heaven. The following book of this volume (SN III 246-9) occupies itself with the relationship between the *Supaṇṇa*, a mythical bird, and the *Nāga*. *Supaṇṇas* too are subject to these four kinds of birth. A further mythological context occurs where the *opapātika* appears among beings that one might come across teaching the Dhamma in a celestial state (*devanikāya*) if one was reborn there (AN II 186).

The contexts in which the term *opapātikā* occurs suggests that this is an ancient term and indeed also an old issue. The debate contexts connect Buddhism with a more ancient Indian tradition.<sup>75</sup> If we accept them as evidence, then the issue of whether or not a being that comes into existence without the occurrence of a sexual act exists was debated. This would imply that different groups held different views about it and that the Buddhists were themselves required to take up a position. This notion

<sup>75</sup> See Witzel, 1987; Manné, 1990.

therefore cannot be taken to be a Buddhist invention. The fact that this term has a mythological context also supports this view. It too entitles us to think that this concept was not original to Buddhism. From the character of these contexts the likely history of the term *opāpātika* is that it was imported by the Buddhists into the context of stages of development from mythical and philosophical or biological contexts. Through the consistent use of *opāpātika* in the standard version of this HCH, which is also its most frequent expression, it is possible that *opāpātika* is an older term than *anāgāmin*. It's possible history within Buddhism is that it was originally a metaphor which later became a technical term.

## ii The term *anāgāmin*: the issue of the difference between the Returner and the Non-Returner

The etymology of this term shows that it designates a state of not returning, of not coming back. The issue of the difference between a "Returner" and a "Non-Returner" is particularly an AN preoccupation.

The difference between a "Returner", and a "Non-Returner", is defined: the grounds for discrimination are whether their fetters (*samyojana*) are internal (*ajjhata*) or external (*bahiddhā* AN I 63ff). Both the Returner and the Non-Returner "live (in obedience to) the moral practices, restrained with the restraint of the obligations; proficient in following the practice of right conduct, (they) see danger in the slightest faults: (they) take up and train (themselves) in the rules of morality" (*silavā hoti pātimokkha-saṃvarasaṃvuto viharati ācāra-gocara-saṃpanno anumattesu vajesu bhayadassāvī samādāya sikkhati sikkhāpadesu*. AN I 63). Each finds himself in a certain company of gods after death (*so kāyassa bhedā param maraṇa aññataram devanikāyam uppajjati*. *ibid.*). The *āgāmin*, however, on leaving that existence, comes back to this world (*so tato cuto āgāmī hoti āgantā itthattam*. *ibid.*). He suffers this fate because his fetters are personal or internal.

### 3.4.1 Formulas, including attainment formulas

The *anāgāmin*, like the *sotāpanna* and the *arahat*, has his attainment formula:

*Yāni cimāni bhante Bhagavatā pañcorambhāgiyāni samyojanāni desitāni nāhaṃ tesam kicci atani appahinaṃ samanupassāmi* "Moreover, as to those five fetters of the lower sort shown by the Exalted One, I do not see a single one of them in myself that is not abandoned." (SN V 177f)<sup>76</sup>

This formula, however, exists only in the SN, and is declared only by the *gahapati*s, (Sirivaḍḍha (V 177) and Mānaḍḍha (V 178)). Although it is acknowledged by the Buddha to indicate their attainment of the stage of *anāgāmin*, one cannot attach any weight to its existence. There is not enough evidence to believe that this *anāgāmin* attainment formula was ever used in a debate situation.

### 3.4.2 *anāgāmin* attainments

The standard definition of this stage of attainment under the designation *anāgāmin*, and the key condition for its attainment, as the standard version shows, is the abandoning of the five lower fetters (*orambhāgiyāni samyojanāni*, cf. SN V 159f), and the diminution of the destructive emotions of passion, hatred, and delusionment. Various texts describe the five lower fetters (see under Version A, §2.3) but these specifications are never given in the context of the *anāgāmin*. From this one may conclude that abandoning the five lower fetters was a recognised stage of development that existed prior to the invention of the *anāgāmin* and that it got attributed to the him after he was invented.

<sup>76</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS V 156f.



Beyond the above there is very little further information about this stage. One sutta defines conditions for the attainment of the fruit of this stage. Unless one has given up six things: "disbelief, shamelessness, recklessness, indolence, forgetfulness in mindfulness and foolishness" (*assadhiya, ahirika, anottappa, kosajja, mutthasacca, duppaññatā*. AN III 421)<sup>77</sup> one cannot realize its fruit. Depending on whether or not one follows suttas that place the fruit before the stage (§2.1, Version C) the *anāgāmin* either has, or is developing these qualities.

Other attainments are implied, especially that the *anāgāmin* has all the *sotāpanna* attainments but at a higher level. This is sometimes specified: e.g. the *anāgāmin* will have progressed further with regard to his comprehension of the five grasping groups (*pañcupādānakkhandā*), than have the earlier stages (SN III 167f, §122).

I have found no information regarding the behaviour and beliefs attained by those who have attained the stage of *anāgāmin*.

### 3.4.3 The advantages of having attained the stage of *anāgāmin*

The advantage in attaining this state is the assurance of non-returning.

### 3.4.4 Methods for the attainment of the stage of *anāgāmin*

A method is given to attain this stage. This is the method to transcend the five fetters which belong to the lower world. This can be achieved by becoming clear about the teaching, "Were I not then, it would

<sup>77</sup> Tr. Hare, GS III 297.

not now be mine. It shall not be, and mine it shall not be (*No cassa no ca me siyū na bhavissatī na me bhavissatīti*. SN III 56).<sup>78</sup>

### 3.4.5 Relative frequency of attainment

This stage is rather frequently attained either in its own right (AN I 64, II 160, IV 63 etc.), or as one possibility among the first three stages of this HCH (AN V 86), or specifically in opposition to Arahantship.<sup>79</sup> It is more frequently attained than the stage *araha*, but less frequently than the other two stages (See also §§ 3.2.6 and 3.3.5).

### 3.4.6 Types of *anāgāmin*

The texts may divide the *anāgāmin* into two types or into five types (see §2.2.3). Both of these definitions into types of *anāgāmin* occur in the AN. To the best of my knowledge the division into two types is unique to AN while DN, SN and AN support the division into five types. The relationship between the two types and the five types of Non-Returner described here, is neither made explicit through clarification in the suttas nor indicated implicitly through an overlap of vocabulary between substages.

In general none of the substages of the *anāgāmin* receive any further clarification, except on one occasion in the AN (IV 70-74). Here a bhikkhu has achieved certain attainments: he has reached the idea: "If it were not, it would not be mine; it shall not become, for me it shall not

<sup>78</sup> Tr. from Woodward, KS III 48; see also fn\* for reading of text. SN III 205, quoted under "*Sotāpanna* attainments", above has *no cassam*.

<sup>79</sup> *dvinnam phallānam aññataram phalam pātikankham dittheva dhamme aññā satī vā upādāse anāgāmitā*. DN II 315; MN I 63, etc.; AN III 82, 143, etc.; SN V 129, 181, 285. "of two fruits one may be expected in this very life, to wit: realization, or, if there be any substrate left, the state of non-return." Tr. Woodward, KS V 159.

become; what is, what's become, that I abandon" (*no c'assa, no ca me sīvā, na bhavissati, na me bhavissati, yad aṭṭhi yam bhūtam, tam pajahāmi ti* (AN IV 70);<sup>80</sup> the first part of which is the method for attaining this stage, he has obtained equanimity (*upekkhā*) and, "He is not attached to rebirth or to birth; he has seen through the highest insight the peace which is the path to the greatest advantage Nibbāna, but he has not seen this path completely, and he has not completely abandoned the tendencies to pride, to lust for rebirth, and to ignorance" (*So bhave na rajjati, sambhave na rajjati, aṭṭhatarim padam santam sammaparāñāya passati; tañ ca khvassa padam na sabbena sabbam sacchikatam hoti, tassa na sabbena sabbam mānāmusayo pahino hoti, na sabbena sabbam bhavarāgānusayo pahino hoti, na sabbena sabbam avijjāmusayo pahino hoti*. AN IV 70). Once the five fetters binding to the lower states disappear, he becomes one of the five types of *anāgāmin*. Here, these different types are distinguished by means of the simile of an iron slab which is heated and beaten, and gives off fragments which take different amounts of time to cool down, and whose cooling down has different effects on the environment. A fragment may simply cool down, or cool down having risen up into the air, or cool down without harming the ground: this is comparable with the substage *antarāparinibbāyin*. A fragment which cools down having harmed the ground, is comparable with the substage *upahaccaparinibbāyin*. A fragment which falls on and sets fire to a small heap of grass and sticks which, for want of fuel, becomes extinguished when this is used up is comparable with the substage *asankhāraparinibbāyin*. A fragment which falls on a large heap is comparable with the substage *sasankhāraparinibbāyin* and a fragment which sets fire to a large heap of fuel and whose fire spreads to the surrounding shrubland and woodland and so forth before cooling down, is comparable to the *udāhamsoto akiniṭṭhagāmin*. The final paragraph is devoted to explaining *anupāḍā parinibbāna* - "Nibbāna that does not take

<sup>80</sup> Tr. Hare, GS IV 40f.

up any more fuel". This is done by means of an arahant formula, but not that of the Four Stages HCH (*āsavānaṃ khayā .. pe .. sacchikarvā upasampajja viharitī*. AN IV 74). This simile is based on the way the Buddhists understood the etymology of the word *nibbāna*,<sup>81</sup> which provides the metaphor of the going out of a fire. It's use here is beautiful and poetic, and enhances the idea of "extinguishing", which is used to explain Nibbāna, by providing an illustrative image, but it provides no real facts or standards for discriminating between the different types of *anāgāmin*.

### 3.5 The Arahāt.

An adequate study of the variety of descriptions of this stage in the context of Case Histories would require a very long book of its own, and no efforts in this direction will be made here. The authenticity of this stage is not, I think, in question - at least the word is not disputed as an epithet for the person who has attained liberation, the ultimate goal in Buddhism. What is interesting in this context is the vague and undefinable line between Arahāt and *anāgāmin* that is so often evident in AN and SN, and that occurs in DN also.

### 3.6 *anāgāmin* vs Arahāt.

It is evident that at a certain point in the history of Buddhism there was a confusion between the stages of Arahāt and *anāgāmin*, and a problem in separating them, and the issue was their individual attainments. This confusion shows up primarily in the AN. Thus, one who develops five dhammas which are the constituents of psychic power (*idhipadhāna*): the concentrations on will, mind, effort and investigation (*chanda-, citta-, viriya- and vimamsā-samādhi*) will attain either the fruit

<sup>81</sup> PTSD, s.v. *nibbāna*.

of *aññā* (a synonym for Arahantship as §2.2.4, 4.i and 4.ii above show<sup>82</sup>), in this very life-time (*ditth' eve dhamme*) or, should there be any remainder (*upādisesa*), the state of non-returning (*anāgāmitā*, AN III 82. Cf also SN V 129-133, 236 § 65 (5); MN I 481 above). There is no information regarding the conditions under which a remainder would exist, and thus no explanation why one stage rather than another should be attained. Similarly, when the mind of a bhikkhu is encompassed about his going forth according to rule and evil, unskilled dhammas that have arisen do not occupy his mind, and it is encompassed about the concepts of impermanence (*anicca*), non-self (*anatta*), the repulsive (*asubha*) and danger (*ādānava*), and about knowing the equal and the unequal (*sama, visama*) and the production and annihilation (*sambhava, vibhava*) and the creation and destruction of the world (*samudaya, atthaṅgama*), and about abandoning (*paḥāna*), absence of passion (*virāga*) and cessation (*nirodha*), then he will either have attained *aññā* or *anāgāmitā*, as above (AN v 108). Further it is said that the attainment of any of the four *jhānas* will result either in the attainment of the stage Arahāt, or in that of the stage *anāgāmin*, both stages expressed in conformity with the standard version (AN V 343). No reasons are given why one of these stages rather than the other should be the result of any *jhāna*.

In general, the difficulty of recognising stages was recognised in the AN. It addresses itself also to the difficulty of identifying stages in relation to attainments. Three great sages of Buddhism, Saviṭṭha, MahāKoṭṭhita and Sāriputta, discuss which is the most excellent, persons with the attainment of *kāyasakkhī, ditthippatta* or *saddhāvivutta*. Each has a different preference, and so, to decide the matter, the Buddha is consulted. The Buddha's response is that it is not easy to tell: any among them could be either a *sotāpanna*, a *sakadāgāmin* or a *anāgāmin* (AN I 118).

<sup>82</sup> See Katz, 1982.

## 4 REVIEW AND DISCUSSION

This discussion will begin with a consideration of the authenticity and the history of the list of the stages with their fruits. It will then go on to treat the elaborations of this list of stages. After that the authenticity of the individual stages will be considered, and finally the differences between the DN, MN, SN and AN will be examined. Section 5 concerns the way this hypothetical case history is used, and abused, in the texts. section 6 will consider how this HCH came about.

### 4.1 The stages and their fruits

The most regularly occurring variation of this HCH is that of the stages and their fruits. The relative frequency with which this version occurs poses the question whether it is a variation of the Four Stages HCH or whether it is an elaboration of the brief version which it came to replace. Two particular features show that it is indeed an elaboration. The first is its inconsistency: as was said above, sometimes in this listing the stage will precede its fruit, and sometimes the fruit will precede its stage. The second shows also the cause of these irregularities: it lies in the structure of the original expression. The Pāli phrase which most usually introduces this formula: *sotāpanno sotāpattiphalasacchikiriyāya patīpanno* (DN III 255 = AN IV 204 = AN IV 292 = SN V 202, §18(8)), can be translated, "the Stream-Enterer, who has entered upon", or "obtained", or "who regulates his life by, the experience of the fruit of stream-entry", in other words, the phrase *sotāpattiphalasacchikiriyāya patīpanno*, may be construed to qualify the term *sotāpanno*. In this case why take the phrase to indicate two distinct stages? The reason is both because certain texts give these specifically as separate stages (MN III 254), and because others indicate in their introductory phrases that this list contains eight items (AN IV 292). But are they right? I think not. It makes sense that if one has attained something, one will, by definition,

enjoy its fruit, i.e. the reward for one's efforts, afterwards, and that the fruit of some action cannot be obtained before the completion of the action, i.e. the attainment of the purpose or goal. Both the grammar of the formula and the inconsistency of the ordering of the stages and their fruit indicate that the division into stage and fruit is spurious.

This list may have come into the tradition in the following way. During the process of evolution of this HCH, it became necessary to attribute a stage with bringing certain benefits, and, obviously, if stages exist, they must indeed do so. In a passion for categorising, i.e. making dhammas of, everything, the rather intangible benefits became transformed into the rather tangible fruits. This process was assisted by the misconstruing of the structure of a phrase. The artificiality of this procedure is evident in the confusion of the texts with regard to what comes first: the stage or its fruits. This elaboration, therefore, cannot be taken to refer to genuine stages in a process of development. This is despite the attempt to authenticate it in the AN, where the Buddha is attributed with each of these fruits (AN I 23). This attempted authentication is not carried as far as the chief disciples who, to the best of my knowledge, are never attributed in the DN, MN, SN or AN either with any of the stages lower than Arahāt, or with their fruits, with the exception of *sotāpanna*. We can thus see that both the list of stages and fruits and the list of the fruits alone are the result of a misunderstanding of an expression. This misunderstanding has created a tradition.

## 4.2 The Elaborations

As was shown in §2, these standard versions suffer various elaborations. These elaborations, or parts of them, occur as integral parts of AN and SN, but are evidently imported into the DN via its Abhidhammic-style suttas (DN 33 and 34), and do not occur at all in MN.

### 4.2.1 Elaborations of the stages *sotāpanna* and *anāgāmin*, and of the pre-stage: the Buddhist interest in measuring attainment

The elaborations seem to have come about through a fascination with measuring attainments. This had led to two of the original stages, the stage of *sotāpanna*, and the stage of *anāgāmin*, receiving subdivisions (see §2.2.2 and 3). The subdivisions take place according to specific criteria. One important criterion for the division of the stage of *sotāpanna* is the number of rebirths to be expected, rebirths which take place in this world, and which are human incarnations.

The stage *anāgāmin* is divided in different ways. One of these ways is in terms of the location and period of the rebirth that will be obtained: among various kinds of gods, for various lengths of time, and under various conditions.<sup>83</sup> Other criteria may seem to be highly technical as in *sasankhāra*-, *asankhāra*-, the state of the *sankhāras*, and *upahacca*- or *antarā-parinibbāyi hoā*, the exact moment of attaining Nibbāna. There is also the metaphor of the fragments of the iron slab which illustrates the very fine nuances between the divisions of this stage (§3.4.6).

The wish to create a system of measurable attainments extends to the stage prior to entry into the stages of this HCH. This pre-stage may be called that of the Ordinary Man, (*puṭhujāna* MN, SN), or of the disciple "who lives in accordance with the *dhamma*", (*dhammānusārin*), or "who lives in accordance with faith" (*saddhānusārin* - SN), or of the person who is "beyond, and without attachment to sense-pleasures", (*bāhiraka kāmesu vitarāga*), or at its lowest level, an animal (*śīracchānagata*). The three terms *dhammānusārin*, *saddhānusārin* and *bāhiraka kāmesu vitarāga* attest to a certain minimal level of attainment (§2.2.1).

<sup>83</sup> See Homer, 1936 : 246 - 251.

#### 4.2.2 The elaborations connected to other aspects of the Teaching

The SN connects this HCH with the Indriyas HCH, the Seven Factors of Awakening HCH, and the Seven Fruits of Mindfulness on the Breathing HCH (§2.3.1). The AN connects this HCH with the Three Trainings HCH and the Three Categories of Fetters HCH (§2.3.2). The questions that have to be asked here are: (1) How can we be certain that these are indeed elaborations of the Four Stages HCH rather than separate HCHs, or stages intrinsic to the other HCH? and (2) How can we be certain that it is the Four Stages HCH which is imposed and the other HCH which "receives" this imposition, and not vice versa? The answer to the first question is that this can be inferred from the texts through their use of a particular vocabulary, including synonyms, and also through their structure, that these elaborations belong to the Four Stages HCH. The answer to the second question is that if all reference to the Four Stages HCH were omitted from any of the "receiving" HCH, these HCHs would still stand as independent HCHs. I think there can be no doubt in these cases that the various attainments existed in the form of independent HCHs, and that the concepts and terminology of the developing Four Stages HCH were imposed upon them.

### 4.3 The individual stages

#### 4.3.1 The Arahāt

I do not put this stage in question, nor do I put in question the use of this term to designate the stage of the attainment of Enlightenment or Liberation. It was in general use in this sense among various groups who sought liberation.<sup>84</sup> Its usage throughout the Canon is consistent. It always occurs in the expression for the Buddha's credentials in the debate tradition.<sup>85</sup> It is very frequently used in many other circumstances in phrases qualifying the term "Buddha". It is used to designate the attainment of the monk who has achieved Nibbāna, the goal of the Buddha's teaching. On all of these grounds, I take the view that it is an early term, in use at the time of the Buddha himself, and with this meaning.

#### 4.3.2 The stage of the Non-Returner, *opapātika/anāgāmin*

The attainments of the stage of Non-Returner are rather cursorily given and not much attention is paid to the method for obtaining them (§3.3.4).

I suggested that the term *opapātika*, "born by spontaneous generation", was a metaphor which became a technical term and a synonym for "Non-Returner" (§3.4). This idea is precisely expressed in the term *anāgāmin* whose etymology leaves nothing to be guessed, and which, as in the case of the Once-Returner, *sakadāgāmin*, shows that it was invented to cover one particular situation: that of having escaped the

<sup>84</sup> " ... this same term (or its equivalent ...) was also used by the Jains, and perhaps the Ājīvikas ... to designate those who have reached the highest stage possible while still embodied as human beings." See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 6.

<sup>85</sup> Manné, 1990 : 2.1.ii.b, quote 16.

destiny of coming back. What could have been the issues that gave rise to the need for this notion? It is generally agreed that the Buddha taught that Enlightenment could be attained in this very lifetime (*dīṭṭh'eva dhammē*).<sup>86</sup> That leaves a rather problematic issue: what would happen if the practitioner nearly became an Arahāt in this very lifetime - but not quite. If there was a possibility of losing all that one hoped to have gained in pursuing a goal whose attainment could not be guaranteed, what could persuade or encourage more than the minimum amount of ardent disciples - almost certainly not enough of them to sustain the religion - that the effort was worth it. The notion of rebirth was very likely available and elegantly solved the problem. It therefore seems likely that the notions and terms Once-Returner (*sakadāgāmin*) and Non-Returner (*anāgāmin*) were incorporated into Buddhism at a time when the Buddhists needed to emphasise the effectiveness of their practice, whether death intervened or not.<sup>87</sup> The important feature with regard to the promulgation of the Teaching at that time was that it lead, not only to the high goal of Arahātship, but also, as the names show, to *not coming back*.

The attention paid to the issue of the difference between the *anāgāmin* and the Arahāt, and the lack of clarity and precise definition suggests that the invention of the notion of *anāgāmin* created difficulties in this direction.

<sup>86</sup> See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 93.

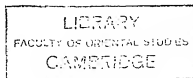
<sup>87</sup> I do not wish to give the impression that this was the only reason and means through which the notion of Liberation after death entered Buddhism. See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 94f for several interesting textual examples of the tendency in Buddhism to postpone liberation until after death. These examples show that this notion was coming into Buddhism in many different ways.

#### 4.3.3 The stage of the Once-Returner, *sakadāgāmin*

Of all of the four stages of this HCH, the stage of *sakadāgāmin*, receives the least attention in the texts. The etymology of this word shows that the stage was invented to cover one particular situation: that of having as one's destiny only one more occasion of rebirth. Behaviour, beliefs, advantages connected with this stage, methods for its attainment, and an attainment formula are all sadly missing, with the exception of the contents of the phrase in the standard Variation 1A. That expression tells us that the *sakadāgāmin* potentially destructive emotions of anger, hatred and delusionment are diminished, and that he will only be reborn one more time.

#### 4.3.4 The stage of the Stream-Enterer, *sotāpanna*

The attestations in §3.1 show that the primary characteristic of the *sotāpanna*, his chief attainment, is his faith (the Beliefs and Practices formula, §3.2.1.B) although attention was also drawn to the possibility that originally practice was important (the Behaviour formula, §3.2.1.A). The adaptability of the fourth condition of the Beliefs and Practices formula, especially when used as an attainment formula, provides evidence that the reward of this stage of attainment was offered for supporting the Sangha. Occasionally more difficult attainments were required for this stage, for instance achieving the Noble Eightfold Path (§3.2.2) which is often represented as the attainment of the Arahāt, or applying one's mind to the Causal Law - *paṭiccasamuppāda* (§3.2.2). Sometimes going beyond doubt with regard to certain aspects of the Teaching was a required attainment, or attainments are required with regard to certain *indriyas* (§3.2.3). These additional requirements, however, can safely be regarded as late as, first of all, they do not appear in either of the attainment formulas, and besides that they occur only in



the SN. They may be evidence of an attempt to raise standards (at least among the followers of the SN tradition).

The multiplicity of the information regarding the *sotāpanna*, and its many contradictions, suggests that this notion is an early element in the development of Buddhism which has evolved and been intensely elaborated in the course of time. With regard to the designation of the stage of *sotāpanna*, at least in the view of AN, all of the other stages of this HCH are simply types of *sotāpanna*. (AN V 120) This passage provides an important key to our understanding of this stage. I argued above (§4.3.1) that the stage of Arahāt may be taken to have existed from the beginning of Buddhism. I have argued too (§4.3.2) that the stage *anāgāmin* solves the problem of what would happen if the practitioner nearly became an Arahāt - but not quite, by offering a sort of guarantee, a saving clause for the promise that enlightenment was attainable during this lifetime. The stage *anāgāmin* contradicts the basic<sup>88</sup> Buddhist teaching that Enlightenment is attainable in the present lifetime. This discrepancy shows that this stage was invented later, and most likely after the time of the Buddha. The same must be said about the stage of *sakadāgāmin* which is so minimally developed in the texts. The close comparison between the etymological structure of these two terms suggests that they came into being together to serve the same purpose. This brings us to the question of the stage of *sotāpanna*. What is the origin of the stage of *sotāpanna*? The answer is that it was originally the stage, or perhaps more accurately the *state* of convert.<sup>89</sup> The *sotāpanna* was originally no more and no less than someone who had converted to Buddhism. Converting means having faith, conforming to a certain belief

<sup>88</sup> See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 93f.

<sup>89</sup> See Rhys Davids DB I 200, where he translates *sotāpanna* with "a converted man". Cf. Masfield, 1986 : 135 who equates the *sotāpanna* with the *sāvaka* and the *dīṭṭhisampanna*. Masfield is more interested in showing homogeneity than in investigating differences and therefore follows the first methodological approach that Schmithausen (1990) has defined.

system and following a minimum number of rules of morality (*sīla*). The *sotāpanna* does all of these things. Originally, then, at the time of the Buddha, there were converts, and Arahats - practitioners who had attained Liberation. The invention of the stages of *anāgāmin*, and *sakadāgāmin*, however, necessitated the elaboration of the state of being a convert into the stage of *sotāpanna*. In this way the four stages HCH came about. This being the situation, there is no surprise in the fact that the texts present the *sakadāgāmin* as a type of *sotāpanna*, as they do the *anāgāmin* and the Arahāt (AN V 120). There is also no surprise either in the fact that *sotāpanna* is the most frequently attained stage (SN V 406).

In this way the four stages HCH came about.

#### 4.4 The difference in interest in this HCH between the DN, MN, SN & AN

##### 4.4.1 The standard version, the brief version and the elaborations.

The standard version of this HCH and the brief version with fruits occur consistently in all of the four Nikāyas of this study except for the brief version which appears to be absent in the DN and the MN. Other elaborations occur minimally in the DN and MN and then only in texts that are undoubtedly late additions to these collections. Only the MN has variations within the context of this HCH of the expression for the fourth of the Four Stages, the Arahāt.

It is the SN and the AN which are most interested in the elaborations of this HCH. In general these texts agree on the elaborations as they appear in the lists. There are, however, interesting differences between them. One concerns the pre-stages, another concerns the sub-stages of the stage of *sotāpanna*, and a further difference concerns the fact that with regard to the elaborations connected to other aspects of the Teaching, the SN (§2.3.1) and AN (§2.3.2) contain completely

different and unrelated information. With regard to the first point, the SN offers two pre-stages which are undoubtedly designed to accommodate two types of followers, those who live in accordance with the *dhamma*-*(dhammānūsārins)* and those who live in accordance with faith (*saddhānūsārins*), while the AN offers no pre-stages. This may be taken to indicate that the SN reciters were more in touch with their lay followers, and more required to please and to accommodate them, than their AN colleagues. This position is supported by the SN's generally greater interest in the stage of *sotāpanna* (see below). With regard to the second point, the substages of the stage *sotāpanna* occur only as a list of terms in the SN, while the AN explains the terms. This suggests that the AN may have originated these ideas or at least that the SN took them over from the AN. With regard to the third point, this gives the impression that the SN and the AN had a somewhat different view of the Teaching.

#### 4.4.2 The individual stages

##### *i The stage of Stream-Enterer, sotāpanna.*

The Nikāyas show distinct and different interests in the individual stages. MN shows no interest in defining the *sotāpanna*, nor in attributing qualities to him. It contains only the standard version and the brief version with fruits. The DN contains both the Behaviour Formula and the Beliefs and Practices formula, but both of these occur only in the Saṅgīti Sutta (DN III 227). It contains the *sotāpanna* attainments, but these occur only in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (DN II 93), which is also a particular case.<sup>90</sup> The AN contains the Beliefs and Practices Formula (AN IV 406) and the condition for uttering it (the Fivefold Guilty Dread condition AN IV 405). It contains the *sotāpanna* attainments, and it alone contains a list of advantages on the attainment of

<sup>90</sup> See Manné, 1990 : footnote 1.

the stage of *sotāpanna* (AN III 441). It contains certain recommendations regarding the method for attaining all of the stages (AN I 44; 231f). It incorporates all the other stages into that of *sotāpanna*, by dividing *sotāpannas* up into 10 types and subsuming the various types of *anāgāmin* into this stage, and by taking the view that all those with faith in the Buddha are *sotāpanna* (AN IV 120). It is the SN, however, that is really interested in the *sotāpanna*. It contains the Behaviour formula (SN V 347, 404, etc.), the Beliefs and Practices formula (SN V 343f, 345, etc.), and the conditions for uttering these formulas (SN II 68f; V 387f). It contains the variations on this formula that adapt it for laymen (SN V 387) or that adapt it in the direction of generosity towards the monks (SN V 352), as well as the doubts about these adaptations (SN V 371; 398). It adds qualifications beyond those of the Behaviour, and the Beliefs and Practices formulas, such as application to the causal law, *paṭicasamuppāda* (SN V 387), the attainment of seven good practices and four desirable states (SN V 352-356), a condition based on views (SN III 202-224), and two five *indriya* conditions (SN V 193f; SN V 207), and a six *indriya* condition (SN V 205). It proposes methods, such as contemplating the five grasping groups, *pañcupādānakkhandhā*. It is concerned with the differences between the Stream-Enterer (*sotāpanna*) and the Arahāt (§3.2.3).

##### *ii The stage of Once-Returner, sakadāgāmin*

When it comes to the *sakadāgāmin*, none of the texts have a particular interest.

##### *iii The stage of Non-Returner, opapātika / anāgāmin.*

On the subject of the *opapātika / anāgāmin* there is once again difference and specialisation between SN and AN, while, as in the case of the *sotāpanna*, DN and MN contain only the standard expressions. SN, however, contains an attainment formula. It emphasises the condition for the attainment of this stage of abandoning the five lower fetters (SN



V 177f), and offers a method for this (SN III 566). It demands further progress than the *sotāpanna* with the five grasping groups, *pañcupādānakkhandhā* (SN III 167f). AN says where, i.e. in which heaven, one might encounter an *opapātika* (AN II 186). It is concerned with the difference between a Returner, and a Non-Returner, discriminating between these two stages through a conditions based on fetters (AN I 63), qualifying the non-Returner through his mental capacities (AN I 64), or through a simile (AN IV 74). It offers a method for attaining this stage, and says that this stage is rather frequently attained (AN I 64, II 160, IV 63, etc). It is aware of the difficulty of distinguishing between stages (AN I 118). This specialisation shows that of the two Nikāyas which interested themselves most in the Four Stages HCH, the SN was primarily concerned with the stage of *sotāpanna*, while the AN was primarily concerned with the stage of *anāgāmin*.

Only AN is concerned with the problem that each stage could seemingly be attained in a variety of ways. It asserts that all *sotāpannas* are equal, as are all *sakadāgāmins*, *anāgāmins* and Arahats (AN IV 364).

#### 5 THE USE - AND ABUSE - OF THE FOUR STAGES CASE HISTORY

I said in the introduction to this chapter that the concepts *saṃsāra* and *karma* required a HCH that extended over more than one lifetime. The original purpose of this HCH may have been to provide this, but its appearance in the texts shows how manifold its utility was. In this chapter we will look at how the DN, MN, SN and AN use, and abuse, this case history. In order to facilitate the comparison, common headings will be used. These will be:

- 1 The Use of the Four Stages HCH in Debates: the Four Stages HCH as the main reason for following the Buddha's Teaching.

- 2 The Four Stages HCH and the promotion of the efficacy of the Buddha's Teaching: the need for measurable and definable attainments.
- 3 The Four Stages HCH as conferring status and rewards.
- 4 Attempts to relate the Four Stages HCH to other aspects of the Teaching:
  - i the attempt to relate it to other sequences of development.
  - ii the attempt to relate it to technical aspects of the Teaching.
- 5 The abuse of the Four Stages HCH.
- 6 Actual CH's.
- 7 The differences between the Nikāyas in their treatment of the Four Stages HCH.

#### 5.1 The Use of the Four Stages HCH in the Debates: DN, MN, AN: The Four Stages HCH as the main reason for following the Buddha's Teaching

The Four Stages HCH is connected with the debate tradition in two ways: (1) it is proposed as a means for winning a debate, and (2) it has attainment formulas connected to some of its stages.

In the *Mahāli Sutta* (DN 6), replying to a challenge, the Buddha says that the reason for following his Teaching is in order to attain the four stages (expressed as in Version A).<sup>91</sup> On two other occasions it is claimed that it is precisely the existence of these four stages that differentiates the Buddha's system from other systems, and that this is the

<sup>91</sup> This sutta has been discussed in Manné, 1990 : 4.1.

basis for an assertion (a lion's roar)<sup>92</sup> in a debate. However determinedly the importance of the Four Stages HCH is proclaimed, it never *wins* a debate! Debates are won on the Sāmaññaphala Sutta hypothetical case history.<sup>93</sup> This fact rather detracts from the force of the assertions in the suttas cited above.

## 5.2 The Four Stages HCH and the promotion of the efficacy of the Buddha's Teaching: the need for definable and measurable attainments

This case history shows that it was necessary and important for the Buddhists to have definable and measurable attainments. In this way they were true psychologists! The Four Stages HCH is used to prove that the Buddha's method works. There is an emphasis that everyone who practises, attains. The Buddha says, "There is indeed in this Order of monks no doubt or misgiving in a single monk as to the Buddha, the Order, the Dhamma, the Way or the Practice. Of these five hundred monks here, Ānanda, the most backward is a Stream-Winner, one saved from the Downfall, assured, bound for Enlightenment" (AN II 80). Similarly, the Buddha states that simply by following his method for a day and a night, one of the stages: that of either the *sakadāgāmin*, the *anāgāmin*, or the *sotāpanna*, would be attained (AN V 86).

The attainment of stages is used to quantitatively demonstrate the effectiveness of hearing a sermon preached by the Buddha. In the SN, thirty monks who still have fetters (*samyojanā*) come to see the Buddha for help. The Buddha recognises their state, and, in order for them all to

<sup>92</sup> Cūḷasihanāda Sutta (MN 11); AN II 238; see Manné, forthcoming (a). Also in the AN the stages and their fruits are called the 8th *marvel* (*aṭṭha accariyā abbhūta dhammā*) of the Buddha's dhamma and discipline (*dhammavinaya*). AN IV 204.

<sup>93</sup> See Manné, forthcoming (a), 2.1.

attain release, preaches a sermon. They all duly attain release (*bhikkhūnam anupādāya āsavehi citāni vimuccimsu*. SN II 187ff). The instant freeing from intoxicants (*āsavas*) by means of a sermon preached by the Buddha is most characteristically a SN feature, although it occurs in other texts (SN II 187ff, III 68, 132; IV 20, etc.).

The four stages HCH is imposed on other HCHs (§2.3), thus providing for them a terminology capable of making vague notions of progress measurable.

## 5.3 The Four Stages used to confer status and rewards

There is a certain innocence in the way the texts exploit this aspect of the utility of the Four Stages HCH. The Four Stages are mentioned in three fantasy suttas:<sup>94</sup> the *Jana-Vasabha Sutta* (DN 18), the *Mahā-Govinda Sutta* (DN 19), and the *Sakka-Paṭha Sutta* (DN 21). In the *Jana-Vasabha Sutta* (DN 18), the Buddha's affirmation that there are large numbers of people in a certain region, Nāḍika, who have attained one or other of the first three stages after death is of central importance. Ānanda immediately realises that if such attainments are confirmed for the faithful of one area, politics and good public relations require that they had been confirmed for the faithful of another. The issue is corrected by means of a fantastical story. The sutta emphasises the importance of the possession of a named, defined stage of attainment.

The *Mahā-Govinda Sutta* (DN 19), the second of these Fantasy suttas, asserts that every disciple has attained one of these four stages: it is comparable in function with the suttas in the previous section. This sutta's position on the Four Stages HCH is that merely becoming a disciple is enough to be rewarded with the stage of *sotāpanna*. This

<sup>94</sup> See fn. 12.

suggests that this sutta has its origins at a time when the term *sotāpanna* meant simply "convert".

Only the stage *sotāpanna* is mentioned in the third of these fantasy suttas, the *Sakka-Paṇḍita Sutta* (DN 21), and here it is the god Sakka who lays claim both to being a disciple of the Buddha and to having attained this stage. It forms part of his credentials<sup>95</sup> when he presents himself to the Buddha and in this way demonstrates the link between stage and status. This sutta demonstrates that a stage could convey status. A god must have some measurable attainment!

The innocence with which the texts exploit this HCH is somewhat betrayed, however, in the *Nalakaṇḍā Sutta* (MN 68). This sutta explains why the Buddha uses the 4 stages .. "the Tathāgata does not have the purpose of defrauding people nor the purpose of cajoling people nor the purpose of gains, honour, fame and material advantages, nor the thought: 'Let people know me thus' when he explains the uprisings<sup>96</sup> in which are disciples who have deceased and passed away, saying: "Such a one has arisen in one, such a one has arisen in another."<sup>97</sup> But there are, .. young men of family who have faith and are of great enthusiasm, of great joyousness and who, having heard this, focus their minds on suchness. .. this will be for their weal and happiness for a long time" (MN I 465).<sup>98</sup> The text that follows shows clearly that the "uprisings" spoken about are the four stages. This explanation suggests that the four stages are an invention whose purpose was to inspire dedication to the practice and to endow it with a tangible result.

The *Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta* (MN 70) is forthright in offering stages as rewards. It proclaims, "For a disciple who has faith in the

Teacher's instruction and lives in unison with it, monks, one of two fruits is to be expected: profound knowledge here and now, or, if there is any basis (for rebirth remaining), the state of no-return" (MN I 481).<sup>99</sup> The second option can only be attested by the Buddha or another of like capacities, who can see the arising of beings as they transmigrate from life to life. When it comes to faith and practice, this categorisation ensures that there are no losers.

Finally, in the *Dakkhīnavibhaṅga Sutta* (MN 142), the four stages are given explicitly to grade the reward concomitant upon the giving of gifts. The higher the stage of the recipient, the greater his status and the greater the reward for the donor.

## 5.4 Attempts to relate the Four Stages HCH to other aspects of the Teaching

### 5.4.1 The Four Stages HCH in relationship to other sequences of development

Several examples of this from the SN and the AN have been presented in §2.3. Although the two abhidhammic suttas of the DN, 33 and 34 may be said to be doing this, their organisation seems more random than structured. The same applies to the list of the monks attainments and practices in the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* (MN 118), quoted below, as the exposition in the sutta has little relationship to this list. The difference between the MN, whose examples I will quote below, and the AN and SN, whose examples were given in §2.3, is that the MN is trying to collate as many as the elements of the Teaching as possible,

<sup>95</sup> See Manné, 1990 : 2.1.ii.

<sup>96</sup> *upapatti* "rebirths", the translator is capturing the play on words in the Pali.

<sup>97</sup> 'Qui s'excuse s'accuse.' Obviously this utterance has been made in defense against just such an accusation.

<sup>98</sup> Tr. Horner, MLS II 138.

<sup>99</sup> Tr. Horner, MLS II 156. *Saddhassa bhikkhave sāvakassa saṭṭhu sāsane pariyoḍḍiya vattato dvinnam phalānam aññataram phalaṃ pāṭikakkham: ditthe va dhamme aññā, sati vā upādisese anāgāmīti* *ñ.* Note the term *anāgāmin* is used here.

while the SN and AN are imposing the Four Stages as a system of measurement upon other HCHs, or sequences of development.

An attempt to locate the four stages in a larger developmental schema is described in the Akāṅkheyya Sutta (MN 6). Its stages are touchingly expressed in the form of a sequence of aspirations a monk may have. These are:

- i "May I be agreeable to co-practitioners and pleasant to them, esteemed and respected" (*sabrahmacāriṇaṃ piyo c'assaṃ manāpo garu bhāvaṇiyo cāti*. MN I 33).
- ii "May I be one who receives the requisites of robes, almsfood, lodgings, and medicines for the sick" (*lābhi assaṃ cīvara--piṇḍapāta--senāsana--gilāna--paccayo--bhesajja--parikkhārānaṃ ti*).<sup>100</sup>
- iii "May the services of those from whom I enjoy (the above) be of great merit, of great advantage".<sup>101</sup>
- iv "May the benefit be great for those of my kith and kin who are spirits who have passed on, and who are aware of it with peaceful minds" (*ye me nātisālohitā petā kīlakaṭā pasannacittā anussaranti tesam taṃ mahapphalaṃ assa mahānisaṃsan-ti*).
- v "May I be one who overcomes aversion and liking, and may aversion not overcome me, may I fare along constantly conquering any aversion that has arisen" (*aratitāsaho assaṃ na ca maṃ arati saheyya, uppannaṃ aratiṃ abhībhuyya vihareyyan-ti*)<sup>102</sup>
- vi "May I be one who overcomes fear and dread, and may fear and dread not overcome me, may I fare along constantly conquering any fear and dread that has arisen" (*bhayabheravasaho assaṃ*

<sup>100</sup> Tr. Horner, MLS I 41.

<sup>101</sup> Tr. ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Tr. Horner, MLS I 42.

*na ca maṃ bhayabheravaṃ saheyya, uppannaṃ bhayabheravaṃ abhībhuyya abhībhuyya vihareyyan-ti*)<sup>103</sup>

- vii "May I be one who at will, without trouble, and without difficulty is possessed of the four *jhānas*, which are dependent on the clearest state of consciousness and which are the abodes of happiness in this very life-time" (*cattunnaṃ jhānānaṃ ābhicetasikānaṃ dīpḥadhammasukhavihārānaṃ nikāmalābhi assaṃ akicchalābhi akasiralābhi ti*).
- viii "Those incorporeal deliverances which are calmed, transcending forms, may I fare along having realised them while in the body" (*ye te santā vimokkhā atikkam na rūpe ārūppā te kāyena phassivā vihareyyan-ti*).<sup>104</sup>
- ix As *sotāpanna* description, Version A (1).
- x As *sakadāgāmi* description, Version A (2).
- xi As *opapātika* description, Version A (3).
- xii As SPS-HCH, Stage III, iii (*iddhis*).<sup>105</sup>
- xiii As SPS-HCH, Stage III, iv (clair-audience).
- xiv As SPS-HCH, Stage III, v (understanding the heart and mind of others).
- xv As SPS-HCH, Stage III, vi (knowing the details of one's former lives).
- xvi As SPS-HCH, Stage III, vii (*dhamma-cakkhū*).
- xvii As the formula for the fourth stage, §2.1, Version A, 4.

In the *Aṭṭhakanāgara Sutta* (MN 52) there is an attempt to relate Stages 3 and 4 to the *jhānas*, the *brahmavihāras* and three of the four

<sup>103</sup> Tr. ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Tr. ibid.

<sup>105</sup> See Manné (forthcoming b) §3, 6.

āyatana (*ākāśānañcāyatana, viññāṇañcāyatana, ākiñcaññāyatana*).<sup>106</sup> A refrain occurs at each stage in the sequence: "Firm in this he attains the destruction of the intoxicants. If he does not attain the destruction of the intoxicants then by this attachment to *dhamma*, by this delight in *dhamma*, by the destruction of the five fetters binding to this lower (shore), he is of spontaneous uprising, one who attains nibbāna there, not liable to return from that world."<sup>107</sup> The refrain suggests that this attainment could happen at any time the *jhānas*, the *brahmavihāras* and the three *āyatana*s were being experienced. This close relationship between the attainment of the 3rd and the 4th stage occurs frequently in MN (52, 64, 70, 73), SN and AN.

In the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* (MN 118) there is a list of attainments of the Order of monks which starts with the Four Stages as its first members, and then continues with various practices:

- i Arahāt
- ii *opapātika*
- iii *sakadāgāmi*
- iv *sotāpanna*
- v "the four applications of mindfulness" (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*)
- vi "the four right concentrations of mind" (*cattāro sammāpādhanā*)
- vii "the four bases of psychic power" (*cattāro iddhipādā*)
- viii "the five controlling faculties" (*pañca indriyāni*)

<sup>106</sup> Cf. the *MahāMālunkya Sutta* (MN 64) which links Stages 3 and 4 with the *jhānas* as above and with two of the *āyatana*s.

<sup>107</sup> Tr. Horner, MLS II 15. Horner translates the term *āsava* by "canker". I have replaced this with the term "intoxicant" for the sake of consistency within this article. *So tattha thito āsavānaṃ khayam pāpuṇāti; no ce āsavānaṃ khayam pāpuṇāti ten' eva dhammarāgena tāya dhammanandiyā pañcanam orambhāgiyānaṃ samyojanānaṃ parikkhaya opapāto hoti tathapariniṅgāyā anāvattidhammo zasmā lokā.* MN I 350.

- ix "the five powers" (*pañca balāni*)
- x "the seven links in awakening" (*satta bojjhaṅgāni*)
- xi "the Noble Eightfold Path" (*ariya atthangika magga*)
- xii "friendliness" (*mettā*)
- xiii "compassion" (*karuṇā*)
- xiv "sympathetic joy" (*mudītā*)
- xv "equanimity" (*upekkhā*)
- xvi "on the unpleasant" (*asubha*)
- xvii "perception of impermanence" (*aniccasaññā*)
- xviii "mindfulness on in-breathing and out-breathing" (*ānāpānasati*).<sup>108</sup>

This list does not make a lot of sense as an ordered sequence of development. It is followed in the sutta by a detailed exposition of the practice of "mindfulness on in-breathing and out-breathing" (*ānāpānasati*, no. xviii. above), which, we are informed, is the practice that causes the complete development of the four applications of mindfulness (no. v. above), which practice, in its turn, causes the complete development of the seven links in awakening (no. x. above). No link between these practices and the Four Stages HCH is offered. Although this process of this development forms an interesting HCH in itself, there is no link between its features and the sequence of practices listed in the earlier part of the sutta. The Four Stages HCH is here attached to an already existing list.

#### 5.4.2 The Four Stages HCH in relationship to technical aspects of the Teaching

While DN and MN do not concern themselves with this, SN and AN show a large concern for the technical aspects of the Teaching.

<sup>108</sup> This list is exhaustively studied in Gethin, 1992.

They introduce features that are not found in the other Nikāyas, they add further conditions for the attainment of certain of the stages and propose methods for the attainments of others. Examples occur in Section 3.

### 5.5 The abuse of the Four Stages HCH

There are no examples of this in DN, but MN has several. With reference to the utterance cited above, "the Tathāgata does not have the purpose of defrauding people nor the purpose of cajoling people nor the purpose of gains, honour, fame and material advantages, nor the thought: 'Let people know me thus' when he explains the uprisings in which are disciples who have deceased and passed away, saying: "Such a one has arisen in one, such a one has arisen in another," one must be forgiven for saying again what was first said in a footnote (see §5.3), "Qui s'excuse s'accuse!" There are examples in MN, SN and AN which show how this system was abused in just the way denied above.

The use of the Four Stages HCH to provide measurable attainments seems honest enough, as does their capacity to confer status. The use of Stages 3 and 4 as rewards, as in the *Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta* (MN 70, see §5.3), comes close to manipulation. Certain suttas show an inventive abuse of this system of attribution and classification of attainments.

The attribution of the attainment of the stage *opapātika* in the *Dhānāvibhaga Sutta* (MN 140) is the Buddha's way of getting out of a fix. The monk Pukkusāti has received lengthy instruction from the Buddha without guessing the identity of his teacher until the end of the discourse. Pukkusāti apologises for this transgression and asks for ordination, and the Buddha sends him away to fulfil the requirements with regard to bowl and robe. Unfortunately, while trying to obtain these, Pukkusāti is killed by a cow. The monks who report this to the Buddha, refer to Pukkusāti in their report as "(that) young man of family who the Lord (just) instructed by means of a brief instruction," and ask to be

informed of his future condition of rebirth. Obviously in this situation the Buddha has to say something. Pukkusāti's earnest commitment to the Teaching, which forms the substance of this sutta, requires some recognition. Nevertheless, the Buddha's words in the situation seem to indicate that he finds the question tiresome. He prefaces his response with this description of Pukkusāti, "Pukkusāti, the young man of family, was wise; he entered the path of application to the *dhamma*," he did not plague me with disputatious questions about the *dhamma*," and goes on to confer the state of *opapātika* upon him (MN III 247).

The situation is resolved the same way upon the death of the brahman Brahmāyu, who was of immense importance and very highly venerated, and who became a lay disciple (*Brahmāyu Sutta*, MN 91). The texts use the same formulaic expression in both cases (MN II 146 = MN III 247). This stage is regularly conferred on sick bhikkhus who die after hearing a discourse from the Buddha. It is the only stage that is conferred after the death of the disciple (e.g. MN 91, 140; SN V 346 Dhigavu). The practice of conferring the stage of *anāgamin* on an ailing bhikkhu who has died after hearing a discourse from the Buddha is attested also (AN III 381). This attests to the power of the Buddha and his Teaching.

People's fears were played upon in order to entice them to convert. Followers are especially encouraged to convert their friends and family, to ground them in the *Credo* (SN V 264f), especially in order that they escape from the fear of all evil destinies (rebirths) and states of punishments.

There are rewards in terms of the Four Stages HCH simply for being a lay disciple. Dhammadinna, a lay disciple, tells the Buddha that he does not have time to learn the Buddha's discourses, because he lives a householder's life, has a family, and indulges in luxuries like perfumes and money, and asks the Buddha for a different way. The Buddha recommends that he train himself as in the Beliefs and Practices formula. Dhammadinna claims that he already fulfils these conditions. The Buddha acknowledges him, "It is an advantage for you, Dhammadinna, it is a

benefit for you, Dhammadinna, that the *soṭṭappiṭṭhala* has been explained."<sup>109</sup> (SN V 407f)

The most flagrant example of the abuse of this system is at the same time not without its charm. This is the occasion where the Buddha proclaims that the monk, Sarakāni, who had died, had become a *soṭṭapanna* (SN V 375ff). This proclamation is seriously questioned and challenged by the other monks. "A strange thing indeed! A wonder indeed! Nowadays anyone may become a stream-winner. Sarakāni failed in the training and took to drink!" they say, evidently disgusted (SN V 375). The Buddha replies, "How could a lay disciple who had for a long time taken refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha go to hell?" The reason the Buddha takes up this position becomes clear in the following sutta (SN V 378): it is because the Teaching is correctly taught by a Sammāsambuddha that it always leads to results, just as well-sown seeds always grow into plants. Obviously in the case of failure, the credibility of the Buddha is in question and must be defended.

A further amusing example shows that the stages were treated as a means of promotion or demotion, in terms of the prestige which the acknowledged attainment of a stage automatically conferred. The disreputable bhikkhu Kokālika taunts the Brahmā Tudu who has come from his brāhma world out of compassion to pay him a visit, "Didn't the Buddha call you a Non-Returner? And now you have come back here! Look how far you have gone wrong!" (*Nānu tvam āvuso Bhagavatā anāgāmi byākato // aha \*kiñcarahi idhāgato // passa yevañca te idam aparaddhan-ti*. SN I 149 = AN V 171).<sup>110</sup>

<sup>109</sup> I am grateful to Professor Dr. Oskar v. Hinüber for help with this translation.

<sup>110</sup> The more usual form is *carasi*.

## 5.6 Purportedly Actual Case Histories

There are none of these in the DN. The case histories of Pakkusati (MN 140) and Brahmāyū (MN 91) are purportedly real, that is, a named individual is attributed with making the transition from one stage to another. This type of case history must, however, be regarded as most doubtful. The circumstances which surround them show that this is simply a device to inspire conviction in the efficacy of the Buddha's Teaching.

There are purportedly actual case histories in the SN. One of these is that of the disciple Dīghāvu, who is ailing. This case history contains three steps: two comprise the Buddha's directions regarding his practice; the third comprises his attainment after death. In step one, the Buddha advises Dīghāvu to train himself in such a way as to become a *soṭṭapanna*, as in the Beliefs and Practices formula (SN V 344ff). Dīghāvu claims that he already has this attainment. In step two, the Buddha advises him to, "to dwell contemplating impermanence in all the activities, conscious of Ill in impermanence, conscious of there being no self in what is Ill, conscious of abandoning, of dispassion, of cessation" (*sabbasankhāresu aniccānupassī viharāhi // anicca dukkhasaññī dukkhe anattasaññī pahānasaññī virāgasaññī nirodhasaññī* §. SN V 345).<sup>111</sup> Dīghāvu claims that he already possesses this attainment. At this point Dīghāvu admits that he is worried about the state his father will fall into should he die. This shows some remaining attachment on his part. His father promptly reassures him, and directs him to follow the Buddha's teaching. Dīghāvu dies shortly after this.<sup>112</sup> In step three, Dīghāvu, posthumously, attains the stage of *anāgamin*: when the Buddha is

<sup>111</sup> Tr. Woodward, KS V 400.

<sup>112</sup> For contemporary cases of death after parental permission see Levine, 1986; Siegel, 1986.

informed of his demise, and asked about his destiny, he confers it upon him.

A further purportedly real case history in the SN concerns the ailing monk Khemaka, whose self-diagnosis with regard to his own stage of development is that, "I do not say 'I am' with regard to body, or feeling, or perception, or *saṅkhāra*, or consciousness, nor in relationship to what is different from any of these. But, friends, I still possess the 'I am' with regard to the five grasping groups" (*na rūpaṃ asmīti vadāmi na pi aññatra rūpā asmīti vadāmi/ Na vedanaṃ/ Na saññāṃ/ Na saṅkhāre/ Na viññānaṃ asmīti vadāmi na pi aññatra rūpā asmīti vadāmi/ Api ca me āvuse pañcasu upādānakkhandhesu asmīti adhiḡatam ayaṃ ahaṃ asmīti ca na samanupassāmi*. SN III 130). Upon teaching how the last subtle remnant of the "I am" conceit can be got rid of, Khemaka gets rid of it himself, and, together with 60 of his audience, attains freedom from the *āsava's* (SN III 126-132). This teaching shows how to make the transition from *anāgamin*, expressed in the text as "*pañcorambhāgiyāni saññōjanāni pahināni*", to Arahāt (SN III 130). The method prescribed is to "contemplate the rise and fall of the five grasping groups thus: this is body, this is the arising of body, this is the cessation of body; (and so forth for all the others)." This case history has unusual, non-stereotypical details.

The AN authenticates the Four Stages HCH by attributing the Buddha with the fruits of each of these stages, thus making them a part of his personal case history (AN I 23).

## 5.7 The differences between the Nikāyas in their treatment of the Four Stages HCH

These differences can be summarised if we take the original headings for this chapter and mark which categories are common to all of these Nikāyas. This is done in Table I below. This schema gives an indication of the differences of interest between the DN, MN, SN and AN. There are certain evident differences between the Nikāyas which have been referred to above, and which therefore only need mentioning here. This HCH appears in the DN mainly in lists or in debate suttas. Because there is nothing original in the DN's usage of this HCH, I conclude that the DN incorporated it because it existed in the material of the reciters of the other Nikāyas (or their early versions). With regard to the MN, however, I think the case is quite different: there is evidence of original usage of this HCH. I argued that the MN "was the collection which arose to serve the need to introduce new converts to the character of the Leader, the Buddha, and the important disciples, to integrate new converts into their values and their way of life, and to provide them with the fundamentals of the Teaching and the Practise."<sup>113</sup>

One important requirement of a text with this purpose would be to encourage the converts by providing them with attainable goals. MN does indeed encourage disciples in many ways that they can and will attain the stages during their lifetimes or in the worst of circumstances, after their deaths.

<sup>113</sup> Manné, 1990 : 4.3.



TABLE I. Categories common to these Nikāyas.

1. The Use of the Four Stages HCH in Debates: the Four Stages HCH as the main reason for following the Buddha's Teaching.			
DN	MN		AN
2. The Four Stages HCH and the promotion of the efficacy of the Buddha's Teaching: the need for measurable and definable attainments.			
DN	MN	SN	AN
3. The Four Stages HCH as conferring status and rewards.			
DN	MN	SN	AN
4. Attempts to relate the Four Stages HCH to other aspects of the Teaching:			
i. Its relationship to other sequences of development.			
DN	MN		
ii. Its relationship to technical aspects of the Teaching.			
		SN	AN
5. The abuse of the Four Stages HCH.			
	MN	SN	AN
6. Purportedly actual CH's.			
	MN	SN	AN

What we notice in MN is best shown in a table and appears as Table II. The stage number appears at the top of the table and corresponds to the stage as in the standard versions. The number in each column is the number of the sutta in which the stage appears. The table shows the preponderant concern for the final stages, stage 3 and stage 4. Stages 1 and 2 are named in only four suttas, MN 6, 68, 118, and 142.

TABLE II.

Stage	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	6	6	6	6
			52	52
			64	64
	68	68		
			73	73
			91	
	118	118	118	118
			140	
	142	142	142	142

They are never referred to on their own, but only occur in the context of the Four Stages HCH. Stage 3, besides occurring in the four above, occurs in three other suttas, MN 52, 64 and 73, where it is named with stage 4, and two suttas, MN 91 and 140, on its own. There is no great

regularity in the naming of the final of the four stages which occurs in the four first named suttas with all of the other stages, and in four other suttas, MN 52, 64, 73 and 68, where it occurs with stage 3. Usually when all four of the stages are named the last stage is expressed as in (4) of Version A, but once, under these conditions, stage 4 is named *arāhā* (MN 68). This preoccupation with stages 3 and 4 shows MN's concern to guarantee results with regard to the purpose of the Teaching: the end of rebirth.

Insofar as the SN and the AN are concerned, the large proportion of quotations from these texts in §§2 and 3 attest their attempts to understand and to make sense of the Teaching of the Four Stages HCH. These texts take an "academic" approach to the Four Stages HCH. Probably only intended for monks with a certain commitment and experience they do not need to make compromises. They study the system and the technical details. In adding further conditions they attempt to add detail and clarity. Although it contains its share of suttas abusing this system, the SN's inclusion of the case of Sarakāni shows a critical attitude not found on this theme in the other Nikāyas.

I have discussed the individual character of the DN and the MN (Manné, 1990) and none of the information here points to a need to change my position. This chapter does, however, permit us to modify the current view on the SN and the AN, especially with regard to their purpose, and the nature of their composers and reciters. Bronkhorst has said that these Nikāyas attained their peculiar shapes at "a time when efforts were made to distil from the tradition lists of items that could be considered to embody the essence of the teaching of the Buddha, being rearrangements of traditional utterances."<sup>114</sup> What kind of people were attempting to "distil from the tradition"? Who were these "distillers"? and were they really only "distilling"? We can infer from this study that the "distillers" were not ordinary practitioners, ordinary monks or followers,

<sup>114</sup> Bronkhorst, 1985 : 316.

but a highly specialised kind of practitioner: scholar-practitioners or practitioner-researchers: monks dedicated both to their practice and to preserving as accurately as possible the method and technique of their practice and the knowledge surrounding it. The questions they address are: "What is it?" "How is it done?" "How does it fit together?" These are questions worthy of any scholar. The SN and the AN show a much smaller interest in telling stories than do the DN and the MN. The interest of their compilers was in finding out as comprehensively as possible on a practical level what exactly the Buddha taught and how it worked.

## 6 HOW THE FOUR STAGES HCH CAME ABOUT

I have argued (§4.3) that the stages *sotāpanna* and *arahat* can be regarded as pertaining to early Buddhism. In the beginning, therefore, there were just two stages: that of convert and that of (full) attainer. How then did the other two stages and the Four Stages HCH come about? As the Four Stages HCH cannot be taken to form part of Original Buddhism it must be either an entirely new and independent invention or an organising structure for some original elements. The first possibility can be rejected. As Bronkhorst has said, religious traditions tend to be conservative and do not as a rule invent complete novelties.<sup>115</sup> This leaves us to explore the notion that the Four Stages HCH is an organising structure for original elements.

It is certainly an organising structure.

<sup>115</sup> Bronkhorst 1986 : xii.

### 6.1 The Four Stages HCH as a systematising and organising structure

The Four Stages HCH is first of all an organising structure for the number of rebirths awaiting the practitioner. The terminology indicates beyond any doubt that the terms *sakadāgāmin* and *anāgāmin* were created to express the attainment of having to suffer only one more, or no more rebirths in human form. The original, elemental version of the Four Stages HCH must have started as a way of defining soteriological attainment in terms of number of rebirths. See Table III.

TABLE III. Freedom from rebirth in terms of a diminishing number of rebirths.

<i>sotāpanna</i>	(7 rebirths)
<i>sakadāgāmin</i>	1 rebirth
<i>anāgāmin/ opapātika</i>	he is characterised by non-returning to this world
Arahat	no further rebirths.

Linked to the idea of escaping from rebirth in the Buddha's Teaching is the idea of the escape from suffering: The Buddha taught that his method led to the end of suffering. The standard version of this case history includes phrases that express this. See Table IV.

TABLE IV. Freedom from suffering.

<i>sotāpanna</i>	freedom from hell or from punishment
<i>sakadāgāmin</i>	after only one more rebirth he makes an end of suffering
<i>anāgāmin/ opapātika</i>	no rebirths in human form
Arahat	(end of suffering).

Once this terminology existed, however, its implications would have to be explored, in particular its relationship to other aspects of the Teaching. Certain attainments had already been defined, perhaps even by the Buddha himself. The compilers of the texts were faced with the problem of how these related to the newly existing Four Stages HCH. Very many different elements of the Teaching become united through being attributed to one of the stages (§2.3). The standard version includes also freedom from certain mental and emotional problems. See Table V.

TABLE V. Freedom from certain mental and emotional problems.

<i>sotāpanna</i>	the disappearance of 3 fetters <i>tiṇṇaṃ samyojanānāṃ parikkhayā</i>
<i>sakadāgāmin</i>	the diminution of passion, hatred and delusion <i>rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanutā</i>
<i>anāgāmin/</i> <i>opapātika</i>	the disappearance of the five fetters which belong to the lower world <i>pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānāṃ samyojanaṃ parikkhayā</i>
Arahāt	having seen for himself in this very lifetime, through his own higher knowledge, the release of heart and mind that is free from āsavās <i>anāsavaṃ cerovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhinmā sacchikarvā</i>

Evidently the tradition had handed down an attainment, or a sequence of attainments related to being free of certain fetters or bonds. There are several problems here for the contemporary researcher. One is that the original researchers, or distillers, did not specify consistently what the relationship was between these bonds and this case history: the bonds also appear independently in the texts or linked to other hypothetical case histories (e.g. that of the *dhammacakkhu* at AN I 242). There is the further problem that the concept of fetters (*samyojana*) is in

itself an organising or systematising concept, linking various ideas. The AN, for example, defines 10 of these: the five fetters which bind to the lower states (*orambhāgiya*)<sup>116</sup> and five which bind to the higher states (*uddambhāgiya*): craving for fine-material existence (*ūpa-rūga*), craving for immaterial existence (*arūparūga*), conceit (*māna*), restlessness (*uddhacca*), and ignorance (*avijjā*, AN V 17; SN V 61f).<sup>117</sup> The AN also has the three substantially different categories of fetters: those binding to the lower states, those binding to the taking up of rebirth (*uppatipaññābhika*) and those binding to the taking up of existence (*bhavapaññābhika*) which it relates respectively to the stages *sakadāgāmin*, *uddhaṃsoṭa akiniṭṭhagāmin*, *antarāparinibbāyin* and Arahāt (AN II 134; IV 13f, 145f). Besides this attainment in terms of fetters, as Table V shows, the tradition inherited the notion that soteriological evolution included the diminution of certain emotions: those of passion and hatred (*rāga-dosa*), and also diminution of the state of delusionment (*moha*). The evidence that the tradition found these aspects important and relevant is that it included them within the Four Stages HCH organising structure.

There were also other attainments, which seem to have been floating around, so to speak, and these were brought into this structure rather less coherently than the above examples by having it imposed upon them. Among these, particularly with regard to the *sotāpanna*, is morality in terms of training in the *sīlas*; familiarity with important aspects of the Teaching such as the Causal Law (*paṭiccasamuppāda*); the Eightfold Path (*aṭṭhaṅgika maggā*); freedom from a number of wrong views; a vision of impermanence (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha*) and liability to change (*avipariṇāmadhamma*); and the possession of qualities (*indriyas*) of various sorts; and with particular regard to the *anāgāmin* clarity about

<sup>116</sup> See §2.1. The first five fetters may also be called *nivaraṇa*, (AN III 63) or *upakkilesa* (AN III 16).

<sup>117</sup> Tr. Nyāṇatiloka, 1980.

the Teaching "If it were not, it would not be mine; it shall not become, for me it shall not become" (*no cassa no ca me siyā na bhavissāmi na me bhavissati*).

In summary, then, the Four Stages HCH probably came about as follows. Two categories of practitioner existed from the time of the Buddha. These were the converts, and those who had attained the goal. During the development of Buddhism the issue of rebirth came to be increasingly important, and with it, probably developing in parallel, the issue of whether Liberation was attained during this lifetime or after death. As it was part of the advantages of having attained the goal that the monk would be free from suffering and rebirth, questions began to be asked about progress towards that goal. Two further stages were defined in terms of the number of rebirths to be expected before the final liberation, and their location. The interest in the stages grew. They were further subdivided. The four stages became attributed with desirable developmental attainments which had already been defined in other contexts where the Buddhists were also faced with a need to qualify and to quantify stages of development. Eventually they reached the stage of definition in which we find them today. The Four Stages HCH offers a very tidy structure to the doctrine of Liberation in terms of sequence and progress.

#### AND TODAY?

I started off with Sharf's article and I will end with it.

Sharf refers to the four levels of Enlightenment twice in his article (section V) - "the fourth and final stage of sainthood (arahat)" and "*soṭāpanna* - the first of four levels of enlightenment" - without comment, thus it may be that he takes the existence of these stages for granted. Sharf shows us in §VI that the use - and abuse - of at least one element of this case history continues today. Contemporary Buddhist

teachers of meditation are debating among each other - among other things - what *soṭāpanna* is. They are debating indirectly, rather than publicly, each implying rather than saying too obviously, that the version of this state arrived at after practising their particular variation of Buddhist meditation is better than that of their rivals and leads to faster results. The impression conveyed is of people chasing after altered states of consciousness, as if they were material goods in the Harrods Xmas sale, each trying to get hold of the best one!

In a religion that preaches detachment, the spiritual materialism demonstrated by excessive attachment to measurable, qualifiable attainments is inappropriate. That is perhaps why muddle exists about all of the proposed stages both in the early texts and at the present time.

La Conversion

Joy Manné

#### ABBREVIATIONS

Texts as in Bechert, 1988.

DB = Dialogues of the Buddha (Rhys Davids, 1899)

GS = Gradual Sayings (Woodward & Hare, 1932-36).

KS = Kindred Sayings (C.A.F. Rhys Davids & Woodward).

MLS = Middle Length Sayings (Homer, 1954).

BHSD = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary.

CPD = Critical Pāli Dictionary.

PTSD = Pāli English Dictionary.

tr. = translation

## TRANSLATIONS

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## The Nigamanas of the Sumaṅgalavilāsiṇi and the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇi

Pāli texts usually end in a brief paragraph called *nigamana*, which corresponds in meaning and content to the *explicit* of mediaeval European manuscripts. In two instances these brief, though highly valuable, texts have been omitted from the respective PTS editions for reasons unknown. Consequently it seems useful, if not necessary, to provide the relevant paragraphs here on the basis of the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana Edition (B\*), because they contain information important for the composition or history of the respective texts.

I. Sumaṅgalavilāsiṇi  
(B\* 1968 III 250,1-251,6)

Nigamanakathā

ettavāta ca  
āyācīto Sumaṅgalapariveṇanivāsiṇā thiraḡuṇena  
Dathānāgasamghaththerena theravaṃsanvayena | 1 |  
Dighāgamavarassa dasabalagaṇaparidīpanassa atṭhakathāṃ  
yaṃ ārabhiṃ Sumaṅgalavilāsiṇiṃ nāma nāmena | 2 |  
sā hi mahāṭṭhakathāya sāram ādāya niṭṭhita  
esā ekāsītipamānāya pāliyā bhāṇavārehi | 3 |  
ekūnasatṭhimatto Visuddhimaggo pi bhāṇavārehi  
atṭhappakāsānathāya āgamānaṃ kato yasmā | 4 |  
tasmā tena sahā 'yaṃ atṭhakathā bhāṇavāragāṇāyā  
suparimitaparicchinnāṃ cattālisasatāṃ hoti | 5 |  
sabbāṃ cattālisādhikasataparimāṇāṃ bhāṇavārehi evaṃ  
samayaṃ pakāsayantiṃ Mahāvihāre nivāsiṇaṃ | 6 |  
mūlakaṭṭhakathāsāram ādāya mayā imaṃ karontena  
yaṃ puññaṃ upacitaṃ tena hotu sabbo sukhi loko ti | 7 |



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## The Nigamanas of the Sumaṅgalavilāsini and the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī

Pāli texts usually end in a brief paragraph called *nigamana*, which corresponds in meaning and content to the *explicit* of mediaeval European manuscripts. In two instances these brief, though highly valuable, texts have been omitted from the respective PTS editions for reasons unknown. Consequently it seems useful, if not necessary, to provide the relevant paragraphs here on the basis of the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana Edition (B\*), because they contain information important for the composition or history of the respective texts.

I. Sumaṅgalavilāsini  
(B\* 1968 III 250,1-251,6)

Nigamanakathā

ettāvati ca

āyācīto Sumaṅgalapariveṇanivāsiniṃ thiraṅuṇena  
Daṭṭhānāgasamghattherena theravaṃsanvayena | 1 |  
Dighāgamavarassa dasabalaguṇaparidipannaṃ aṭṭhakathaṃ  
yaṃ ārabhiṃ Sumaṅgalavilāsiniṃ nāma nāmena | 2 |  
sā hi mahāṭṭhakathāya saram ādāya niṭṭhitā  
esā ekāsītupamāṇāya pāṇiyā bhāṇavārehi | 3 |  
ekūnasatthimatto Visuddhimaggo pi bhāṇavārehi  
atthappakāsanathāya āgamānaṃ kato yasmā | 4 |  
tasmā tena saha 'yaṃ aṭṭhakathā bhāṇavāragāṇāya  
suparimitaparicchinnaṃ cattālisasataṃ hoti | 5 |  
sabbam cattālisādhikasataparimāṇaṃ bhāṇavārehi evaṃ  
samayaṃ pakāsayantiṃ Mahāvihāre nivāsinaṃ | 6 |  
mūlakatṭhakathāsāraṃ ādāya mayā imaṃ karontena  
yaṃ puññaṃ upacitaṃ tena hotu sabbo sukhi loko ti | 7 |

paramavisuddhasaddhābuddhiviriyaapaṭimaṇḍitena silācārajavamaddav-  
ādiguṇasamudayasamudītena sakasamayasaṃyantaragahanajhogaṇa-  
samatthena paññāveyyattiyasamānāgatena tipīṭakapariyattippabhede  
sāṭṭhakathe sattuśāsane appaṭihataññāpabbhāvena mahāveyyākaraṇena  
karaṇasaṃpattijānitasukhaviṃggaatamadhu rodāra vacana līvaṇṇayuttena  
yuttamuttavādinā vādivarena mahākaṇḍīna pabhinnapaṭisambhidāparivāre  
cālabhīññāpabbhedaguṇapaṭimaṇḍitena uttarimanusaḍhamme suppa-  
tiṭṭhitabuddhīnaṃ theravaṃsappadīpaṇaṃ therānaṃ Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ  
vaṃsālaṃkārabhūtena vipulavisuddhabuddhīna **Buddhaghosa** ti garūhi  
gahitanāmādheyena therena katā ayaṃ **Sumaṅgalavilāsīni** nāma  
Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathā

tāva tiṭṭhatu lokasmiṃ lokanītharaṇesinaṃ  
dassenti kulaputtānaṃ nayaṃ dīṭṭhivisuddhiyā | 8 |  
yāva Buddhō ti nāmaṃ pi suddhacittassa tādina  
lokamhi lokajēṭṭhassa pavattati mahesino ti | 9 |

Sumaṅgalavilāsīni nāma Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā.

The *nigamana* is commented upon in the subcommentary: Sv-ṭṭ  
III 372,1-29.

The structure of the *nigamana* as a whole is common to all four  
Nikāya commentaries composed by or under the supervision of Buddha-  
ghosa. Moreover some verses and the prose part of the *nigamana* are  
identical in these commentaries.

The length of the respective texts as here of Sv is given always  
in combination with the Visuddhimagga. This shows that each individual  
commentary forms a unit with Vism. The 81 *bhāṇavāras* of Sv are added  
to the 59 *bhāṇavāras* of Vism to give 140 *bhāṇavāras* altogether.

A *bhāṇavāra* comprises 8000 syllables corresponding to 250  
*ganthas*. Each *gantha* or *gāthā* contains 32 syllables, because it consists  
of 4 *pādas* of 8 syllables (*akkhara*) according to:

etha ca bhāṇavāro ti:

aṭṭhakkharo ekapadaṃ ekagāthā catuppaḍaṃ  
gāthā c'ekā mato gantho gantho ca bāṭṭimsakkharo | 1 |  
bāṭṭimsakkharagāthānaṃ paññāsadvisataṃ pana  
bhāṇavāro mato eko sv-aṭṭhakkharasahasako | 2 |

evaṃ aṭṭhakkharasahasapaṃimāṇo pāṭho vuccati. bhāṇitabbo vāro yassā ti  
hi bhāṇavāro. ekena sajjhāyanamaggena kathetabbavāro ti attho, Sv-ṭṭ B\*  
196/ I 81,8-15 (on Sv-ṭṭ I 23, 19 on Sv 2,12), cf. Sadd 1131 (5.3.3.1).

II. Kaṅkhāvitarāni

(B\* 1968 356,6-357,14\*)

Nigamanakathā

ettāvata ca

vaṇṇanaṃ Pātimokkhasa **Soṇattherena** yācīto  
vinaye jātakākhānaṃ kaṅkhavitarāṇatthiko | 1 |  
ārabhirū yam ahaṃ sabbaṃ Sīhaṭṭhakathānaṃ  
Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ vācānamagganissitaṃ | 2 |  
nissāya sā ayaṃ niṭṭhaṃ katā ādāya sabbaso  
sabbaṃ aṭṭhakathāsāraṃ pāṭiyatthāṃ ca kevalaṃ | 3 |  
na h'etha taṃ padaṃ atthi yaṃ virūjīheyya pāṭiyā  
Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ poraṇaṭṭhakathāhi vā | 3 |  
yasmā tasmā akatvāna etha kaṅkhaṃ hitesinā  
sikkhitabbā va sakkaccaṃ **Kaṅkhāvitarāni** ayaṃ | 4 |  
yathā ca niṭṭhaṃ sampattā Kaṅkhāvitarāni ayaṃ  
dvāvīsati bhāṇavāraparimāṇāya pāṭiyā | 5 |

evaṃ anantarāyena niṭṭhaṃ kalyāṇanissitā  
aciraṃ sabbasattānaṃ yantu sabbe manorathā ti | 6 |

paramavisuddhasaddhābuddhivīriyappaṭimaṇḍitena ... **Buddhaghosa** ti  
garūhi gahitanāmadheyena theraṇa katā ayaṃ **Kaṅkhāvitarāṇi** nāma  
Pātimokkhaṇṇanā

tāva tiṭṭhatu lokasmiṃ lokanītharaṇesinaṃ  
dassenti kulaputtānaṃ nayaṃ silavisuddhiyā | 7 |  
yāva Buddho ti nāmaṃ pi suddhacittassa tādino  
lokamhi lokajēṭṭhassa pavattati mahesino ti | 8 |

Kaṅkhāvitarāṇiṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā

The prose part of this *nigamana* is identical with the one used in  
all commentaries ascribed traditionally to Buddhaghosa.

This *nigamana* is not commented upon in the older anonymous  
Kaṅkhāvitarāṇipuraṇaṭṭikā, but only in Vinayatthamañjūsā Kaṅkhā-  
vitarāṇjabhinavaṭṭikā (B\* 1965 486,18-487,18). Quotations from the  
*nigamana* have been printed in italics, explained words in bold type:

Nigamanakathāṇṇanā

yaṃ Pātimokkhasa vaṇṇanaṃ ārabhin ti sambandho. Mahāvihāra-  
vāsīnaṃ ti idaṃ purimacchimapadehi saddhiṃ sambandhitabbaṃ,  
Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ Porāṇaṭṭhakathāhi vā ti ca. pāḷiyatthañ ca  
kevalaṃ ti sakalaṃ pāḷiyatthañ ca ubhatovibhaṅgañ cā ti vuttaṃ hoti.  
ettā ti etissaṃ Kaṅkhāvitarāṇiyaṃ. yasmā na hi atthi ti sambandho.  
yaṃ ti yaṃ padaṃ. Sihaḷaṭṭhakathānayaṃ ti Sihaḷa-  
māṭikaṭṭhakathānayaṃ. Atṭhakathāsāraṇ ti Sihaḷamāṭikaṭṭhakathāyaṃ  
atthasāraṇ, aṭṭha vā Vinayaṭṭhakathāsu atthasāraṇ, ten' etaṃ dasseti:

Sihaḷamāṭikaṭṭhakathāyaṃ atthasāraṇ ādāya imaṃ Kaṅkhāvitarāṇiṃ  
karonto Vinayaṭṭhakathāsu pi idha viniichaye yogakkhemaṃ atthasāraṇ  
ādāy' eva akāsi.

idāni sadevakassa lokassa accantasukhādhigamāya attano puññaṃ  
pariṇāmeto yathā ca niṭṭhaṃ sampattā ti ādigāthādvayam āha.  
kalyāṇanissitā ti kusalanissitā. sabbasattānaṃ ti kāmāvacarādi-  
bhedānaṃ sabbesaṃ sattānaṃ.

Nigamanakathāṇṇanā niṭṭhitā.

This explanation is followed by the *nigamana* to Kkh-t, which  
was composed by Buddhaṅga, a pupil of the commentator and author  
Sāriputia under Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186), during the late 12th  
century AD.

Freiburg i. Brsg.

O. v. Hinüber

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## THE MONK IN THE PĀLI VINAYA: PRIEST OR WEDDING GUEST?

I recently attended a meeting of a committee controlling a charity at which the treasurer was supposed to present a report. However, he did not turn up. He was attending his daughter's graduation ceremony. Inconvenient though his absence was, no one present thought it improper. Everyone recognised that parents are normally under an obligation to attend their children's graduations. On the other hand, no one thought that the proud father was officiating at the ceremony, or that it could not have been carried out without him. The event centred on a ritual, but the father's obligation to attend was a social, not a ritual obligation.

Not only in South Asia, but in many (or all?) traditional societies the world over, when a family solemnises an important event in the life of one or more of its members, everyone associated with that family is expected to attend. Legally, technically, a Hindu couple are married if they have had the correct ritual performed by a qualified officiant. But they will feel bad about it unless their relatives, friends and acquaintances come to the festivities and accept food from them. Conversely, it is offensively rude not to attend a wedding feast to which one has been invited and to eat at least a token amount.

Since the guests are felt to be an essential component of such occasions, one might perhaps very loosely speak of them as part of the ritual, in so far as one can describe almost any set social occasion as a ritual. But every participant understands the difference in role performance between an officiant at such a ritual – a marriage, for instance – and a guest, and therefore understands the difference (in whatever language it may be expressed) between the ritual obligation and

the social obligation to attend. To blur this distinction where it is relevant casts darkness where there was light.

In a recent number of this journal Gregory Schopen, who is recognised as a leading historian of early Buddhism, published an article entitled "The Ritual Obligations and Donor Roles of Monks in the Pāli Vinaya".<sup>1</sup> The donor roles are fine; but I dispute the ritual obligations. Moreover, I think maybe it falls to me to reply, because his article begins with the sentence: "More than once recently it has again been suggested that Buddhist monks had little or no role in life-cycle ceremonies in early India"; and to this is keyed a footnote with two references to words published by me. Let me here reproduce those words.

"Monks preserve Buddhism; but it is not their function to provide religious services to the laity. The life crises of Buddhists (birth, puberty, marriage) are mostly either treated as secular events or solemnized by specialists in the religious systems which co-exist locally with Buddhism. There are however quite a few exceptions to this general principle. The major one is death: Buddhist monks everywhere officiate at funerals."<sup>2</sup>

That passage attempts to generalise about Buddhism as a whole. The other one which Schopen cites has the same focus as his article.

"The Theravāda Buddhist monk hardly ever acts as what we would call a priest. He officiates at no life-cycle crisis rituals except funerals – and even then he can claim to be present as preacher and consoler, not as officiant. We do not know

<sup>1</sup> *JPTS* XVI, 1992, pp.87-107.

<sup>2</sup> H. Bechert and R. Gombrich (edd.), *The World of Buddhism*, (London, 1984), p.14.

whether the monk assumed this funerary role for Buddhists in ancient India, but it is quite logical for him to do so."<sup>3</sup>

Schopen calls this the "received wisdom", and disagrees. His reasoning is as follows. The Pāli *Vinaya* gives a long list of occasions on which a monk should interrupt his rains retreat. Many of them are invitations from lay supporters. In some cases the lay supporter wants to make a donation, e.g. of a building, to the Sangha. In other cases the layman merely wishes to celebrate the construction of a building or something similar for himself. In yet other cases, the invitation may be occasioned by illness, or by the wedding of one of the layman's children. The monk is supposed to accept these invitations.

Schopen argues that the invitations are "ritual obligations". Of the passage which includes wedding invitations, he says that it "presupposes something like a 'client relationship' between monks and lay brothers", a relationship which entailed "a sense of obligation" (p.91). With the latter remarks I agree; but again point out that a farmer's tenants, for example, play quite a different role at his family's weddings from the officiant.

When any guest comes to an Indian home, he has to be fed; in fact, for the visitor not to be fed is unthinkable. This holds true for monks too. Besides, the very relationship between a monk and his lay patron/supporter revolves around feeding: in return for "raw flesh" (*āmisā*), i.e., material support, the monk bestows the greater gift of the Teaching. Since ancient times, this transaction has been conventionalised into set forms. On p.101 Schopen cites a text which shows how the monk's formulae of teaching while accepting food (or other material gifts) are to be adapted to the occasion. What is appropriate to a happy occasion, says the text, will

<sup>3</sup> R. Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, (London, 1988), p.124.

not fit a death. One can call that stereotyped exchange of food for teaching a ritual; but the fact that a monk who has responded to an invitation is ritually fed does not mean that his feeding is a part of the actual ceremony to which he is invited.

Schopen suggests (p. 92, fn.) that his quotations from the Pāli *Vinaya* cast doubt on what Obeyesekere and I have written about recent Buddhist weddings in Sri Lanka, but this shows the same confusion: it is the role of the monks (or other Buddhist sacralia) in the wedding rites which we claim to be an innovation.

In the second passage cited above, I wrote that we do not know whether monks officiated at funerals in ancient India, but that they may well have done so, and Schopen seems to agree with both points. As he says, we do know that they were sometimes invited to weddings. But how regularly? Impossible to say. But I offer the following reflection.

In traditional Sinhala Buddhist society there is an ambivalence about monks. They are associated with death. To see a monk first thing when you leave your house in the morning used to be considered a bad omen. Similarly, many laity do not wish monks to attend an auspicious occasion, such as a wedding. It is fine for the couple to invite or visit a monk shortly before or soon after the wedding to receive some moral instruction and blessings, but another matter to bring the monk into the wedding ceremony itself. However, this view of monks as inauspicious is strictly a lay view; I do not remember hearing it voiced by a monk, and indeed some monks argue that it is quite wrong. Naturally, monks see themselves positively. The *Vinaya* texts cited by Schopen were composed by monks and are indeed invaluable evidence for ancient Indian social history, but one would expect them somewhat to exaggerate how popular monks were as guests at weddings, house-warming parties, or other lay celebrations.

The texts do not show that the presence of monks on such occasions was a regular occurrence; nor do they show that it was not. However, that is subsidiary to my main point: that they had no ritual role at life crises (except perhaps death). Had they had such ritual duties, the *Vinaya* would surely have had to prescribe just how those duties were to be performed. Instead, we find the *Vinaya* almost devoid of liturgy but full of prescriptions for table manners.

I suggest that for anyone familiar with traditional Indian culture it is easy to envisage what the texts in question are about. When a high-caste Hindu family celebrates such a happy occasion, it is customary for them to feed brahmins. This feeding (*brāhmaṇa-bhojanam*) always takes place away from the arena of the ceremony itself. The brahmins would indeed take umbrage at being closely associated with the officiant, because the very fact of his being there as an officiant means that he is doing a paid job and so lowers his status below theirs. They have no duties; they are gracing the occasion. If, ideally, they demonstrate the kind of people they are supposed to be by debating some abstruse topic, the host will be particularly gratified.<sup>4</sup> Here, as so often in ancient Buddhist theory and practice, the monk is the Buddhist answer to the brahmin – but to the ideal brahmin, not to the priest.

Schopen calls the paragraphs I wrote on this topic “received wisdom”. They are surely not wisdom, and it is far more fun to overturn accepted ideas – as Schopen often succeeds in doing – than to reiterate them. But these just happen to be right.

Oxford

Richard Gombrich

<sup>4</sup>I am indebted for this picture to my wife, Dr. Sanjukta Gupta Gombrich.

## KĀMALOKA: A RARE PĀLI LOAN WORD IN OLD JAVANESE ?

In a note to "Śīva-Buddhism in Java and Bali", J. Ensink (1978: p. 178 note 8) observed that: "There is little evidence of Pāli, Pāli literature and Theravāda Buddhism in the whole of the Indo-Javanese and Indo-Balinese culture". Indeed, this scholar adduces only four items: 1) Old Javanese *wiku* as a very early loan and a development from Pāli *bhikkhu*,<sup>1</sup> 2) Old Javanese *palangka*, "throne, seat for a priest" and Balinese *pelankan*, the term for the seat of the brahmin priest, from Pāli *pallanka*, 3) Balinese *pataṛaṇa*, the square cushion of a Balinese Buddhist priest from Pāli *pattharaṇa*, and 4) the seeming preference of the spelling *Poruṣāda* over *Puruṣāda* in the Old Javanese *Sutasoma*,<sup>2</sup> a poem which may have been inspired by the Mahāśutasoma Jātaka.

The text passage which may possibly furnish a fifth borrowing from Pāli is to be found in a late fourteenth or early fifteenth century Old Javanese Buddhist didactic poem, entitled *Kuṭṭjarakarmadharmakathana* and written by *mpu* Ḍusun. This text has been edited and translated by Teeuw and Robson (1981). The context of the passage in question is as follows: Pūrṇawijaya, the king of the gods named *widyādharas* (*ratu niḥ dewa widyādharākhyā*, 13.4b), together with his wife Kusumagandhawati and attendants who were "not different from the host of Manmatha" (= Kāma), has departed (32.5a) from his residence in the heaven of Indra (*kendran*), to pay their respects to the Buddha Wairocana. Arriving at His abode (32.6a), the *wihāra* named Bodhicitta, Pūrṇawijaya, accompanied by the hosts of gods, performs the worship (*ambijā*). Music follows (33.1), to which dance (33.2) and songs (*kidun*)

<sup>1</sup> Gonda (1973: pp. 158, 274) says that Old Javanese *wiku* derives from Middle Indic *bhikkhu*. Pāli is, of course, also Middle Indic.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Soewito Santoso, *Sutasoma: A Study in Javanese Wajrayana*, Delhi, 1975 (Śata-Pitaka Series no. 213).

which are hymns of praise in the divine worship (*prastuti dewapujā*) are added (33.4). After describing how the sashes (*sasampur*) of the dancers slipped down, as if to display their slim waists, Kuñjarakarna 33.6 states:

*sañ atēlasan anṛtānīdīntānām tuwuhnya  
inirih i wuri len tan cārakākwēh ri wuntat  
pilih amēnañ atañḍih rūm sakeñ kāmaloKa  
hayu nika tuwin aṅsal yan tēkeñ rūmnya dewi*

Teuw and Robson (1981: 147) translate:

Those who had finished dancing were in the prime of youth;  
They were let to the back, together with the many attendants behind.  
Probably they would win a contest with the beauties of Kāma's  
realm —  
Their beauty might even be successful against the charms of a  
goddess !

Before offering a slightly different translation, we may note a few details. The rendering of *amēnañ atañḍih rūm* and *tuwin aṅsal* by conditionals is perhaps unfortunate, since neither *amēnañ* nor *aṅsal* includes an irrealis (the suffix *a*). True, one could read *amēnaña*, but this would force one to read *tañḍih rūm*, which, as the verbal phrase 'to compare/measure in/with respect to beauty', is not likely.

Secondly, and much more important, the translation "Kāma's realm" for *kāmaloKa*, where *kāma* is taken, as it here is, as the proper name of the god of love, is questionable. The reasons are: 1) the term *kāmaloKa* is not otherwise attested in Old Javanese,<sup>1</sup> 2) the compound *kāmaloKa* is completely absent from all standard Sanskrit dictionaries,<sup>2</sup> and 3) Kāma,

<sup>1</sup> That is, there is no entry under *kāmaloKa* in Zoetmulder's Old Javanese dictionary (1982) at all.

<sup>2</sup> That is, from Böhtlingk and Roth (St. Petersburg), Schmidt, Monier-Williams,

being generally a secondary or attendant rather than a presiding or central divinity in Hinduism or Buddhism,<sup>1</sup> does not have a world (scil. heaven, *loka*) of his own, unlike, for example, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā or Indra. Words for each of these worlds (*viṣṇuloka*, *śivaloka*, *brahmaloka*, *indraloka*) are attested in Sanskrit as well as in Old Javanese.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, instead of the "the world of [the god] Kāma",<sup>3</sup> *kāmaloKa* must mean "the world of desire", that is, the world(s) in which desire is operative. In Buddhist Sanskrit cosmographic terminology this is called the *kāmadhātu*, the sphere of existence below the worlds of form (*rūpadhātu*) and the worlds of non-form (*arūpadhātu*). Hence, when the poem notes that the dancers are superior in beauty to those of the worlds of desire, this makes much sense insofar as, having left the heaven of Indra and having arrived at the *wihāra* Bodhicitta, the residence of the Buddha, the performers are as such no longer part of the sensual sphere and therefore must be superior to its inhabitants.

Apte, Mylius, Edgerton (Buddhist Hybrid), Conze (Prajñāpāramitā literature), and Sircar (epigraphic). Das (1985: p. 691) supplies both *kāmadhātu* and *kāmaloKa* for Tibetan 'dod kham but does not supply text-references. Given that this dictionary reference is the only one furnished by Chandra (1976: p. 1261) in his Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary and in the light of the absent of *kāmaloKa* in all the above dictionaries, one may be inclined to consider this as a 'ghost translation', the more because *kāmaloKa* is also absent from the Mahāvīyūtpatti, as well as from the index on the Abhidharmakośa (la Vallée Poussin) and its *bhāṣya* (Hirakawa).

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Stuti and Stava no. 405, the Smarastava, (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971: p. 253), a hymn used in Śaivite circles, where Kāmadeva is said to prevail over Īṣvara, Brahmā, Mahādeva and Viṣṇu (verse 6) and to be worshipped by the triple world (*trailokyasevitas*, verse 7d).

<sup>2</sup> Nor do hypothetical synonyms such as \**kāmbhuvana*, \**kāmbhūmi* or \**kāmapada* appear to be attested in either language.

<sup>3</sup> Kāma and Ratih, moreover, are the patrons of poets and the *dalang*, the performer of the *wayang* plays, on Bali (Gonda 1975: p. 46. see C. Hooykaas, "The Function of the *dalang*", in *Akten des 24. intern. Orientalisten-Kongresses*, München, 1957). However, the context of the Kuñjarakarna does not appear to permit an understanding of 'the world of Kāma', that is, as the *wayang*.



As for the dancers being superior in beauty to a "goddess" (*dewī*), this would amount to the same thing, since, in Buddhist cosmology, the worlds of the gods (*devaloka*)<sup>1</sup> are superordinate to the worlds of demons, men, animals, ghosts and hell-beings, but still within the realm of desire. Nevertheless, we ought to consider if *dewī* could be a proper name, for "in her Sundanese (West Javanese) form as *Devī Śrī* she is a divine princess, able to descend from heaven and closely related to the *widyādhariś*, a class of kindly fairies who in part of the Archipelago are believed to preside over love and in Java to revive the deceased. They are in all probability a body of indigenous deities who have assumed an Indian name, taking over the role played, in India, by the *apsaras*" (Gonda 1975: p. 30).<sup>2</sup> The Kuñjarakarṇa identifies the dancers as *Apsaras* and divine women (*apsara mwan swaśtri*, 33.2a). In itself this is not a problem for identifying *dewī*, since the poem does not seem rigorously to distinguish between *apsaras* and *widyādhariś*. Moreover, since Pūrṇawijaya, king of the *widyādhariś* and lord of the *apsaras* (26.4a, 31.7c, 37.2a, etc.) has returned from a spell in the *aweci* (sic) hell where he had been boiled in the hell-cauldron while his body lay in bed at home as if dead (25.2a, 29.1), only to engage in love with his wife (31.7), the identification of *dewī* as *Devī* would appear to be a reasonable possibility.

With the above considerations in mind, we may now retranslate the verse from the Kuñjarakarṇa.

They who had finished dancing were flawless, youthful in age.  
They were escorted to the back together with the many female attendants who were behind [them].

<sup>1</sup> These worlds, of which there are generally six, are also known as the *kāṃvacarāḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Gonda refers here to K.A.H. Hidding, *Nji Pohatji Sangjang Sri*, Leiden, 1929, which is not available to me.

Certainly they are victorious measured in beauty compared to those in the world[s] of desire.  
Their loveliness also obtains when compared to the beauty of a goddess (or: *Devī*).

The difficulty therefore is: if *kāmaloḥka* is truly not available in Sanskrit, has the author of the Kuñjarakarṇa forged the compound by himself combining the very common items *kāma* and *loka*? The answer to this would seem to be in the negative, since 1) the parallel termini *arūpaloka* and *rūpaloka* are also not attested in Sanskrit or Old Javanese, and 2) the expected Sanskrit terms *kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu* and *arūpadhātu* are attested in the Old Javanese Sañ Hyan Kamahāyānikan.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, because the words *kāmadhātu*, etc., are attested in Old Javanese, it does not seem plausible that the poet would have assumed the interchangeability of *loka* and *dhātu* unless he knew that *loka* in this Buddhist cosmological sense existed. Consequently, it is likely that the term *kāmaloḥka*, meaning the world(s) subject to desire, is borrowed from Pāli, where we find *kāma*-, *rūpa*- and *arūpaloka* as precise cosmological equivalents to *kāma*-, *rūpa*- and *arūpadhātu* in Sanskrit.

Beyond the merely linguistic interest of an addition to the trifling number of Pāli loan words in Old Javanese, the import of this conclusion is that there must have existed, at some time or another and at some place or another in the Archipelago, a Pāli text from which this word could have been borrowed.<sup>2</sup> As for which text, where and when, it is impossible to say with any certainty. Given that the Ratu Baka inscription of 792/3 A.D. mentions the foundation of the monastery Abhayagiri for the Sinhalese (*abhayagirivihāraḥ kāritāḥ sinhalānām*)<sup>3</sup> and given the

<sup>1</sup> Kats 1910: 55.4, 10, 13 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> As a cosmological term *kāmaloḥka* also may be distinguished from the material items cushion (*pataraṇa*) and throne (*palāṅka*) furnished by Ensink (supra).

<sup>3</sup> cf. de Casparis 1961. Sarkar (1971: p. 48) translates "The people of Ceylon

mention of Sinhalese as foreigners resident on Java in inscriptions of king Airlāṅga in the eleventh century,<sup>1</sup> we may opine that this may have been many centuries before the composition of the Kuñjarakarmadharmakathana. Indeed, it is conceivable that this could have been as early as the seventh century, since I Ching observes that *āgama* texts on Buddha's *nirvāṇa* were translated in Java and since, according to Gonda (1975: p. 7), these texts belonged to the "Hīnayāna". Further, we may refer to the work of Lokesh Chandra (1986) who makes a reasonable case for the existence of Abhayagirivāsins hailing from Ceylon on Java. Accordingly, one may conjecture that *kāmaloka* as a Pāli loan word in Old Javanese might ultimately have been borrowed from one or other text brought to Java by these monks sometime prior to 792/3, the date of the Ratu Baka inscription.

Lastly, an observation: even if one should prefer to hold, when all is said and done, that *kāmaloka* in the Old Javanese Kuñjarakarmadharmakathana was minted in Java itself, it is, from an anthropological perspective, not insignificant that \**kāmaloka* is seemingly absent in the enormous literature available in Sanskrit. Given the multifaceted compass of this literature, its lack is all the more piquant. One can only wonder why the term is not available, for, after all, given that the god Kāma also has the name Anaṅga, 'he without a body', one is inclined to suspect that some adroit Sanskrit poet would have found occasion to make a word-play on these two terms. That, somewhere, sometime, no one did make such a palpably obvious pun must mean something, if only that this would seem to presuppose the omnipresence — sensate and religious — of the realm of desire.

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have erected the monastery called Abhayagiri". See also Chandra 1986, who discusses this inscription with reference to its bearing on the Barabudur.

<sup>1</sup> cf. Ensink, *loc. cit.*

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## VIMUTTIMAGGA AND ABHAYAGIRI: THE FORM-AGGREGATE ACCORDING TO THE SAMSKRĪTASAMSKRĪTA-VINIŚCAYA

### A. Introduction

The *Vimuttimagga* is a comprehensive manual of the Theravādin school; lost in the original Pāli (or, less probably, Sanskrit),<sup>1</sup> it is preserved in a complete Chinese translation, made by a *bhikkhu* of Funan in the early 6th century.<sup>2</sup> This version has been translated into English in full under the title *The Path of Freedom*.<sup>3</sup>

While both Chinese and Pāli sources agree that the name of the author is Upatissa (Skt Upatīṣya),<sup>4</sup> there is some confusion about the Sanskrit form of the translator's name. In 1883 Bunyiu Nanjio gave the name Saṃghapāla, with the alternative Saṃghavarman.<sup>5</sup> In 1915 Sylvain Lévi rejected the form Saṃghapāla as erroneous, and suggested

<sup>1</sup> cf. Bechert 1992, pp. 95-96, and Skilling 1993A, p. 167. See, however, Louis Renou and Jean Filiozot (edd.), *L'Inde classique II* (Hanoi, 1953) § 2147: "à en juger par les noms ou termes transcrits, la version chinoise du *Chemin de la Libération* ne semble pas être faite sur un original de langue pāli; on n'y trouve aucun nom singhalais ... tout indique, pour cet original, une origine indienne et non singhalaise". Sylvain Lévi (1915, p. 26) notes, with reference to the *Mahāmāyūri*, that "Saṃghabhara "paraît être un sanscritiste et un indianiste médiocre".

<sup>2</sup> T 1648 (Vol. XXXII), KBC 968, *Chieh t'o tao lun*.

<sup>3</sup> See Bibliography: the English translation is hereafter referred to as *Path*.

<sup>4</sup> The name, prefaced by "arhat", is transcribed at the head of the Chinese version; in the *Visuddhimagga* Commentary the author is described as *thera* (*Paramatthamañjūsā*, cited at *Path* xxxvi, *ekacce ti upatissatheram sandhāyāha, tena hi vimuttimaggē tathā vuttam*).

<sup>5</sup> Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan*, [Oxford, 1883] San Francisco, 1975, § 1293 "Saṃghapāla"; Appendix II § 102, "Saṃghapāla or Saṃghavarman".

Samghavarman or Samghabhara.<sup>1</sup> In 1923 J. Przyluski, after referring to both Nanjio and Lévi, described Samghapāla as "doubtful", and suggested Samghabhara or Samghabhāṭa.<sup>2</sup> In 1927 Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, after referring to the above-mentioned sources, rejected both Samghapāla and Samghavarman, and accepted Samghabhara.<sup>3</sup> The *Höbögirin* gives "Samghabhara (?)"<sup>4</sup>, as well as "Samghavara (?)", and "Samghavarman (?)".<sup>5</sup> Lancaster and Bareau give Samghabhara without discussion.<sup>6</sup> The *Path* reverts to Samghapāla; since the translators do not discuss the name, and since the bibliography does not refer to any of the other works mentioned above, it is likely that they took the name from Nanjio's *Catalogue*, which they refer to on pp. xxvii and xxxvi. This is unfortunate, since the form Samghapāla, rejected by all authorities since Nanjio, has thereby been perpetuated.<sup>7</sup> For the time being, I accept the form \*Samghabhara; I hope that the question will be re-examined by those competent in the field, in the light of resources now available.

There is also confusion about the date of translation. Bagchi, Przyluski, and *Höbögirin* agree that \*Samghabhara's dates are 460–524. Nanjio (§ 1293) gives the date of translation of the *Vimuttimaggā* as 505, but since at Appendix II § 102 he himself says that \*Samghabhara began his

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> J. Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Açoka (Açoka-avadāna) dans les textes indiens et chinois*, Paris, 1923, pp. xi–xii.

<sup>3</sup> Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, tome I, Paris, 1927, pp. 415–18.

<sup>4</sup> *Höbögirin, Répertoire du canon bouddhique sino-japonais*, Paris-Tōkyō, 1978, § 1648.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 281a, under Sōgyabara.

<sup>6</sup> KBC § 968; Bareau 1955, p. 242.

<sup>7</sup> Samghapāla is given by George Cœdès, in *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu, 1968, note 92, p. 285 (see also p. 58), by W. Pachow, "The Voyage of Buddhist Missions to South-East Asia and the Far East", in *Journal of the Greater India Society* XVII/1 & 2 (1958), p. 13, and no doubt elsewhere in secondary literature.

career as a translator in 506 — a date confirmed by Lévi, Przyluski, and *Höbögirin* — this must be an error. Both Bagchi and Lancaster give the date of translation as the 14th year of the T'ien Chien era of the Liang Dynasty, which Bagchi equates with 519, Lancaster with 515. *L'Inde classique* states that the translation was made between 506 and 524, "probablement en 515"; *Höbögirin* does not give a date. According to Dr. Josef Kolmaš, 515 is the correct date.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the Chinese translation, the *Vimuttimaggā* is known from extensive quotations given by Daśabalaśrimitra in his *Samskṛtasaṃskṛta-viniścaya*, a compendium of the tenets of several Buddhist schools, also lost in the original, but extant in Tibetan translation.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, I will give an extract from Chapter 13 of the *Sav*, a citation of the *Vimuttimaggā* which corresponds to the opening of the 10th fascicle, 11th chapter, first section, of the *Path* (pp. 237–38), in the following format:

- a) romanised Tibetan text;
- b) English translation of the Tibetan;
- c) English translation of the Chinese from the *Path*.<sup>3</sup>

The object of study is a passage giving a list of the 26 types of derived form (*upādāya-rūpa*) that, along with the four basic elements

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Kolmaš for checking the date for me during a visit to the Oriental Institute, Prague. It is likely that Nanjio's 505 is simply a misprint for 515. (cf. also e.g. KBC 1086, where the 15th year of T'ien Chien = 516.)

<sup>2</sup> *Dus byas dan 'dus ma byas nram par nes pa* = *Sav*. I have been able to consult only two editions: D and Q (see Bibliography); variants are given in parentheses without discussion. For an analysis of this work and a discussion of its authorship and date, see Skilling 1987.

<sup>3</sup> From the passages selected for this study, it can be seen that the translation of the *Path* is often unreliable. I am grateful to Dr. Prapod Assavavirulhakarn (Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok) for consulting the Chinese text; his clarifications are followed by the initials [PA].

(*mahābhūta*), constitute the aggregate of form, *rūpa-kkhanda*. The list is of considerable interest and importance because it throws light on the problem of the school affiliation of the *Vimuttimagga*. Because "school" in this context refers to divisions or traditions within the broader fold of the Theravāda, the tradition of the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathās*, *Tīkā*s, and Abhidharma manuals will be specified as that of the Mahāvihāravāsins throughout.<sup>1</sup>

I have also given the opening of the chapter leading up to the above-mentioned list, in order to place the passage in context, and — since Daśabalaśrīmītra's citations of the *Vimuttimagga* have not been studied to date — to demonstrate how closely they agree with the Chinese version. I will also translate a number of other passages from the same chapter of the *Sav* in the discussion that follows.

## B. Text and Translation

**B.0a** (D 185a3; Q 98b6) *pañḍita chen po gnas brtan dge sloṅ* (D om. *gnas brtan dge sloṅ*) *stobs bcu dpal bśes gñen gyis bsdus pa 'dus byas dan' 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa las (Q la) gnas brtan pa'i sde pa 'i tshul lugs phuṅ po skye mched khams rnam par nes pa zes bya ba le 'u bcu gsum pa 'o//<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> For the two main divisions of the Theravāda, see Bareau 1955, chapters XXIX and XXX. A third branch, the *Jetavanīyas* or *Sāgalikas* (Bareau, chapter XXXI) seems to have played a less significant role. For the *Abhayagiri*, see *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. 1, fasc. 1, [Colombo] 1961, pp. 21–25 ("Abhayagiri"), 25–28 ("Abhayagirivāsins"), 67, 77–78 ("Abhidharma Literature"), and Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, [1956] 1966, pp. 83–85, 92–99, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This is the colophon of the chapter of the *Sav* from which the citations are drawn.

**B.0b** "An analysis of the aggregates, bases, and elements according to the system of the Sthavira school" ("Sthavira-nikāya-naya-skandha-āyatana-dhātu-vinīcaya"), Chapter 13 of the *Analysis of the Conditioned and the Unconditioned*, compiled by the great authority (*mahāpañḍita*), the senior monk (*sthavira-bhikṣu*), Daśabalaśrīmītra.<sup>1</sup>

**B.1a** (D 179a1; Q 90b3) *'phags pa gnas brtan pa 'i sde pa 'i lun las 'di ltar rnam par bśag ste/ de la las dan po pa 'i rnal 'byor pas rga śi las grol bar 'dod pa dan/ 'khor ba 'i rgyu yaṅ dag par gcod pa don du gñer ba (Q bas) dan/ ma rig pa 'i mun pa rnam par sel ba 'i don du gñer ba dan/ 'phags pa 'i śes rab thob pa don du gñer ba rnam kyis gnas lha la mkhas par bskyed par bya 'o/ 'di lta ste/ phuṅ po la mkhas pa dan/ skye mched la mkhas pa dan/ khams la mkhas pa dan/ rten cin 'brel bar 'byuṅ ba la mkhas pa dan/ 'phags pa 'i bden pa la mkhas pa 'o//*

**B.1b** The Āgama of the Ārya-Sthavira school (*nikāya*) sets forth the following:

Herein, the novice meditator (*ādikammika-yogin*) who wishes to be liberated from ageing and death (*jarā-maraṇa*), who strives to cut off the cause of cyclic existence (*saṃsāra*- or *bhava-hetu*), who strives to dispel the darkness of ignorance (*avijjā-andhakāra*), and who strives to realise

<sup>1</sup> For the title, which, in accordance with Tibetan (and Indian) tradition, is given at the end of the chapter, I have given Sanskrit equivalents for the Tibetan. Although the bulk of the *Sav*, dealing with *Vaiśiṣṭika* and *Mahāyāna* tenets, would have been composed in Sanskrit, we do not know the language of the *Vimuttimagga* and other Sthavira citations given by Daśabalaśrīmītra. In order to facilitate comparison with the Mahāvihāravāsin Theravādin tradition, which is preserved in Pāli, I have given Pāli equivalents in the translation of the citations, based on the Sanskrit equivalents of the Tibetan as given for example in the *Mahāvīryūtpatti* (*Mvy*). In most cases these equivalents are virtually certain; those which require some explanation are discussed in the notes. The Pāli terms given in the citations of the *Path* have been taken from the footnotes to that work as appropriate.

the wisdom of the noble (*ariya-paññā*), should develop proficiency (*kosalla*) with regard to five states (*ghāna*): proficiency with regard to the aggregates (*khandha-kosalla*), proficiency with regard to the bases (*āyatana-kosalla*), proficiency with regard to the elements (*dhātu-kosalla*), proficiency with regard to conditioned arising (*pañcica-samuppāda-kosalla*), and proficiency with regard to the truths of the noble (*ariya-sacca-kosalla*).

B.1c) (*Path* 237,1) Here, if the new yogin aspires after release from decay and death, and wishes to remove the cause of arising and passing away, wishes to dispel the darkness of ignorance, to cut the rope of craving and to acquire holy wisdom, he should develop the methods, namely, the aggregate-method [*khandha-kosalla*, PA],<sup>1</sup> sense-organ-method [*āyatana-kosalla*], element-method [*dhātu-kosalla*], conditioned-arising-method [*pañcica-samuppāda-kosalla*], and truth-method [*sacca-kosalla*].

B.2a) (D 179a3; Q 90b6) *de la phuṇ po lha ni 'di lta ste/ gzugs kyi phuṇ po dañ/ tshor ba 'i phuṇ po dañ/ 'du śes kyi phuṇ po dañ/ 'du byed kyi phuṇ po dañ/ mnam par śes pa 'i phuṇ po 'o//*

<sup>1</sup> The translators of the *Path* supply the term *upāya*; the characters employed are also used for *kausalīya* = *kosalla*, equivalent here to the Tibetan *mḥas pa* [PA]. While forms with *kusala* (MN III 62.4, *dhātu-kusala*, *āyatana*°, *pañcicasamuppāda*°, *ghānāghāna*°), *kuśala* (E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil [ed.], *The Divyāvadāna*, Delhi, 1987, 340,26, and Nalinaksha Dutt [ed.], *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part 4, [Calcutta, 1950] Delhi, 1984, 42,18, *dhātu-kuśala*, *pratiyasamuppāda*°, *sthānāsthāna*°; *Divyāvadāna* 567,8, *skandha-kuśala*, *dhātu*°, *āyatana*°, *pratiyasamuppāda*°), or *kausalīya* (Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya [ed.], *The Yogācārabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga*, Calcutta, 1957, 71.9, *dhātu-kausalīya*, *āyatana*°, *pratiyasamuppāda*°, etc.) are well-attested in this context, the use of *upāya* is not. I therefore take the nominal form *kosalla* (for which confer PTSD 230b), equivalent to the Tibetan *mḥas pa* (in the passage cited clearly a noun = Skt *kausalīya*), to be the correct form.

B.2b) Herein, there are five aggregates (*khandha*): the aggregate of form (*rūpa*), the aggregate of feeling (*vedanā*), the aggregate of notion (*saññā*), the aggregate of formations (*sankhāra*), and the aggregate of consciousness (*viññāna*).

B.2c) (*Path* 237,8) What is the aggregate-method? The five aggregates are the aggregate of form, the aggregate of feeling, the aggregate of perception, the aggregate of formation, and the aggregate of consciousness.

B.3a) (D 179a4; Q 90b6) *de la gzugs kyi phuṇ po ni gñis te (Q om. te) 'di ltar/ 'byuñ ba chen po dañ/ 'byuñ ba chen po las byuñ ba 'i gzugs so//*

B.3b) Herein, the aggregate of form is twofold: the basic elements (*mahābhūta*) and form derived from the basic elements (*mahābhūtānam upādāya rūpam*).

B.3c) (*Path* 237,10) What is the aggregate of form? The four primaries and the material qualities derived from the primaries.

B.4a) (D 179a4; Q 90b7) *de la 'byuñ ba chen po la bñi ni 'di ltar/ sa dañ/ chu dañ/ me dañ/ riñuñ ño//*

B.4b) Herein, there are four basic elements: earth (*paṭhavi*), water (*āpo*), fire (*tejo*), and air (*vayo*).

B.4c) (*Path* 237,14) What are the four primaries? Earth-element, water-element, fire-element, air-element.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here the Sav omits the definitions of the four basic elements given in the *Path* pp. 237,15–238,10.

B.5a) (D 179a5; Q 90b7) *'byuñ ba chen po las byuñ ba 'i gzugs ni ñi šu ñer drug ste/ 'di ltar ...*

B.5b) There are 26 [types of] form derived from the basic elements<sup>1</sup> ... [See Table 1.]

B.5c) (*Path* 238,12) What are the derived material qualities? ... [See Table 1.]

B.6a) (D 179a7; Q 91a3) *de 'i phyir 'byuñ ba chen po bži dan ñe bar bslañ ba 'i gzugs ñi šu ñer drug ste/ gzugs (Q rđzas) sum cur 'gyur roll*

B.6b) Therefore, there are four basic elements and 26 [types of] derived form (*upādāya-rūpa*), making 30 [types of] form (*rūpa*).<sup>2</sup>

B.6c) (*Path* 240,31) ... these 26 material qualities and the four primaries make up 30 kinds of matter [*rūpa*, PA].<sup>3</sup>

### C. Discussion

The earliest suttas, both Pāli and Sanskrit, speak of two types of form, generally in definitions of either the form aggregate (*rūpa-kkhandā*) or of the "form" in "name-and-form" (*nāma-rūpa*). For example:

<sup>1</sup> This introductory sentence is not given in the *Path*, which gives instead a question. In Table 1 I have omitted the *dan* (ca, "and") that follows each item in the Tibetan.

<sup>2</sup> D *gzugs = rūpa*, Q *rđzas = dabba* (Skt *dravya*). The Chinese here definitely = *rūpa* [PA].

<sup>3</sup> This sentence follows the definitions of the 26 types of derived form that are given in the *Path* (pp. 238,20–240,31) but omitted in the Sav.

*Katamañ ca bhikkhave rūpañ ? Cattāro ca mahābhūtā catunnañ ca mahābhūtānañ upādāya rūpañ, idañ vuccati bhikkhave rūpañ* (SN III 59,19)

What, O monks, is form? The four basic elements and form derived from the four basic elements: this, O monks, is termed form.

While the four basic elements are listed and defined in the *suttas*, for example in the *Mahāhatthapadopama-sutta* (MN 28, Vol. I 185,14 foll.), no definition of "derived form" is given in the early texts. This gave the various schools a free hand to compile their own lists of the constituents of derived form.

The earliest list of the Mahāvihāravāsīn Theravādīns is found in their *Abhidhamma* in the *Dhammasaṅgāni* (§ 596)<sup>1</sup> which gives 23 types of derived form in response to the question *katamañ tañ rūpañ upādā*. This type of form became known as *upādā-* or *upādāya-rūpa*. The 23 types of derived form of the *Dhammasaṅgāni* (indicated with an asterisk in Table 1) follow the same order as the corresponding items of the *Vimuttimaggā* list.

From the time of Buddhaghosa on, the Mahāvihāravāsīns added the "heart-base", *hadaya-vatthu*, between no. 12, *fvitindriya*, and no. 13, *kāyaviññatti*, to make a total of 24 varieties of derived form. This list is found, for example, in the *Visuddhimaggā* (375 § 36; Mm 11,10).<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> References to this work are by section number, as given in the PTS edition (ed. Edward Müller, [1885] London, 1978) and in the Devanagari script edition (ed. P.V. Bapat and R.D. Vadekar, Poona, 1940).

<sup>2</sup> References to this work are to Henry Clarke Warren (ed.) and Dharmananda Kosambi (rev.), *Visuddhimaggā of Buddhaghosācariya* (Harvard Oriental Series 41), [1950] Delhi, 1989, by page and paragraph number, and to the Thai

Sav and the *Path*, however, state explicitly that there are 26 types of derived form (see above, §§ B.5ab and B.6abc).

The list of the Sav in fact gives 27 items; as may be seen from Table 1, I have not counted *reg pa* (= *phassa*), which is not given in the *Path* or in the following analysis and classification of the 26 types as cited in the Sav. As a *caetasika*, *phassa* does not belong here; if *phoṭṭhabba* (Tibetan *reg bya*) is intended, it also does not fit, because according to the *Vimuttimaggā* as cited by Daśabalaśrīmitra himself (D 184b1; Q 97b8) the "tangible base" (*phoṭṭhabbāyatana*) consists of the earth, fire, air, and water elements, and hardness (*kakkaḷatta*), softness (*mudutū*), heat (*uṇhatta*), and coolness (*sītātā*), which are within the range of the body (*kāya-gocara*):

*reg bya' i skye mched ni sa' i khams dañ/ me' i khams dañ/ rūm  
gi khams dañ/ chu' i khams dañ/ sra ba dañ/ 'jam pa dañ/ dro  
ba dañ/ bsil ba ste/ gañ lus kyī spyod yul lol/*

This definition is confirmed by the *Path* (254,19)<sup>1</sup>:

Touch-object is hardness, softness, coolness, and warmth of the elements of earth, water, fire, and air. This is the field of the body.<sup>2</sup>

script edition published by Mahāmakāṭarājavidyālaya (Mm), Bangkok, 2509 [1976] by page and line.

<sup>1</sup> The order of the four elements here in the *Path* agrees with that of both the Sav and the *Path* at B.4 above. This seems to be the standard order as found at e.g. DN III 228,1 and MN I 185,12.

<sup>2</sup> "Touch-object is the earth-element, water-, fire-, air-, hardness, softness, coolness, and warmth [which are within] the range of the body (*kāya-gocara*)" [PA].

The Mahāvihāravāsins, however, hold that the *phoṭṭhabbāyatana* consists of only three great elements, excluding water, *āpo-dhātu*, and that cold, *śīta*, is not *āpo-dhātu* but *tejo-dhātu*, in the "condition of feeble heat" (*mande hi uṇhabhāve sītabuddhi*).<sup>1</sup> The position of the *Vimuttimaggā* is closer to that of the Vaibhāṣikas, who include all four elements as well as cold (*śīta*) in the *spraṣṭavyāyatana*.<sup>2</sup> Confirmed by both the Tibetan of the Sav and by the Chinese of the *Path*, the definition of *phoṭṭhabbāyatana* is another important point on which the tradition of the *Vimuttimaggā* disagrees with the Mahāvihāra school.

When this error is corrected, the Sav and the *Path* agree completely on the 26 items enumerated and their order.<sup>3</sup> This list of 26 items may safely be termed the *Vimuttimaggā* list of derived form.

A comparison of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* list with that of the *Vimuttimaggā* shows that the two lists are identical in order and in items enumerated, with the important difference that the latter adds three items: *rūpassa jāti* (21), *vatthu-rūpa* (25), and *middha* (26).

Of these three, *vatthu-rūpa* may be identified with the *hadaya-vatthu* of the Mahāvihāravāsins from the time of Buddhaghoṣa on. Unfortunately, since Daśabalaśrīmitra's presentation of the *Vimuttimaggā* is abridged, he omits the definitions of the 26 varieties of derived form that follow the list in the full Chinese translation, and thus does not define *vatthu-rūpa*. In the *Path* (240,29) the definition of the equivalent term is translated as "the growth which is dependent on the primaries and the element of

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* §§ 647–51 and Karunadasa 1967, pp. 19–20, 29–30.

<sup>2</sup> cf. P. Pradhan (ed.), *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu* (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series VIII, 2nd edition), Patna, 1975, I,104, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> The basic list in the *Path* gives 25 items only, omitting the important no. 21, "birth of matter", which is, however, given in the Chinese (see note 5 to Table 1).



consciousness [*viññāna-dhātu*, PA] is called the sense-organ of the material element",<sup>1</sup> which is not very illuminating.

That *hadaya-vatthu* and *vatthu-rūpa* are equivalent is, however, made clear in the *Aṭṭhakathā* and later literature, for example in the definition of the "base-decad", *vatthu-dasaka*, given in the *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā* (Vibh-a 22,7-10):

*Tattha vatthurūpaṃ, tassa nissayāni cattāri mahābhūtaṃ, tannissitā vaṇṇa-gandha-rasa-ojā jīvitam̐ ti, idaṃ vatthudasakam̐ nāma.*

Herein, the base-decad consists of *vatthu-rūpa*, the four basic elements on which it depends, colour, odour, taste, and nutriment that depend on it, and life.

The Sav does not give the definition of the "base-decad", but refers it to that of the "eye-decad":

(D 179b6; Q 91b4) *de la mig bcu šes pa ni/ rab tu dañ ba'i mig gi dños por gyur pa'i 'byuñ ba chen po bži dañ/ kha dog dañ/ dri dañ/ ro dañ/ gzi brgyid dañ/ srog gi dbaṅ po dañ/ mig gi rab tu dañ ba'o/ chos bcu po 'di nams gnas rnam pa tha dad med pa'i goñ bu yin pas/ mig bcu šes brjod do// ... (D 180a4; Q 92a4) de bžin du rna ba bcu ldan dañ/ sna bcu ldan dañ/ lce bcu ldan dañ/ lus bcu ldan dañ/ bud med kyi dbaṅ po bcu ldan dañ/ skyes pa'i dbaṅ po bcu ldan dañ/ dños po bcu ldan dañ/ srog gi dbaṅ po bcu ldan nams rgyas par šes par bya'o/*

<sup>1</sup> "Sense-organ of the material element" = *vatthu-rūpa*: the definition belongs to the *vatthu-rūpa* of the preceding list (Table 1, § 25), and the characters are nearly the same [PA].

Herein, that which is called the "eye-decad" (*cakkhu-dasaka*) consists of the four basic elements, colour, odour, taste, nutriment (*ojā*), life-element, and the sensitive eye-tissue (*cakkhu-pasāda*) that make up the substance of the sensitive eye. Because these ten *dhammas* are a physically undifferentiated conglomeration (*piṇḍa*), they are called the "eye-decad" . . . . The ear-decad, the nose-decad, the tongue-decad, the body-decad, the femininity-faculty-decad, the masculinity-faculty-decad, the base-decad (*vatthu-dasaka*), and the life-faculty-decad [correct to "enneed"]<sup>1</sup> should be understood in detail in the same manner.

(*Path* 242,1) What is the eye-decad? The four elements of eye-sentience are its basis. And again, it consists of the four

<sup>1</sup> "Life-faculty deced", *srog gi dbaṅ po bcu ldan*, must be an error of scribe or translator. In the Pāli Abhidhamma, the life-faculty is an enneed (*jīvitindriya-navaka*); for it to be a deced, one would have to count the life-faculty twice. Furthermore, the enneed is referred to later on in the Sav: (D 180b4; Q 92b7) *tshans pa nams kyi sbye ba'i dus su grugs sum cu dgu ni 'di lta ste/ dños po bcu ldan dañ/ mig bcu ldan dañ/ rna ba bcu ldan dañ/ srog gi dbaṅ po dgu ldan no/ 'du šes med pa'i sems can nams kyi sbye ba'i dus su grugs dgu 'byuñ bar 'gyur te 'di lta srog gi dbaṅ po dgu'o/* "For Brahmas at the moment of birth there are 39 [constituents of] form: the base-decad, the eye-decad, the ear-decad, and the life-faculty-enneed (*jīvitindriya-navaka*). For beings without perception (*asaññi-satta*) at the moment of birth 9 [constituents of] form arise, that is, the life-faculty-enneed." *Path* p. 244,6 has "Brahmā arouses 49 material qualities at the moment of birth. They are the basis-decad, the eye-decad, the ear-decad, the body-decad, and the life-principle-enneed" for the first part. The figure 39 of the Sav is correct, since the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (Mm 38,8; Nāraḍa 312,1) states that since the nose-, tongue-, body-, and sex-decads are not found in the world of form, that is the Brahmāloka, at the moment of birth there are four *kalāpas*, the eye-, ear-, and base-decads, plus the life-enneed: *rūpaloke pana ghāna-jivhā-kāya-bhāva-dasakāni ... na labbhanti, tasmā tesam̐ pañsandhi-kāle cakkhu-sota-vatthu-vasena tñi dasakāni jīvita-navakāñceṭi cattāro kamma-samuñhāna-kalāpā ... labbhanti.*

primaries, form, odour, flavour, contact,<sup>1</sup> life-principle and the sentient eye. This decad is produced together and does not separate. This is called "group" and this is called the eye-decad ... (242,16). Thus should the eye-decad be known. In the same way one should know the ear-decad, the nose-decad, the tongue-decad, the body-decad, femininity-decad, masculinity-decad, life-principle-ennead at length.

It is possible that the term *vatthu-rūpa* is older than the term *hadaya-vatthu*. The latter only appears from the time of Buddhaghosa onwards, while *vatthu-rūpa* is employed in the earlier *Vimuttimaggā* as well as in later works of the Mahāvihāravāsins.

The importance of *vatthu-rūpa* or *hadaya-vatthu* in Theravādin philosophy is demonstrated by the fact that it makes up one of the two essential decads that must arise at the moment of birth:

(D 180a6; Q 92a6) *māla gyi skye ba'i skad cig la gzugs sum cu 'byun bar 'gyur rol/ dños po bcu ldan dan/ lus bcu ldan dan/ gañ gi tshé bud med na (D ni) bud med kyi dñan po bcu ldan dan/ yañ na skyes par (D skye bar) 'gyur na de'i tshé skyes pa'i dñan po bcu ldan dan/ ma niñ nrams kyi ni gzugs ñi šu 'byun bar 'gyur te/ 'di lta ste/ dños po bcu ldan dan/ lus bcu ldan no//*

Thirty [categories of] form arise at the moment of birth in a womb (*gabbha*): the base-decad (*vatthu-dasaka*), the body-decad (*kāya-dasaka*), plus, for a female, the femininity-faculty-decad (*ittindriya-dasaka*), or, for a male, the masculinity-faculty-decad (*purisindriya-dasaka*). For asexuals (*napsūśaka*),

<sup>1</sup> Here the Chinese has *phassa* against the *ojā* (*gzi bryi'd*) of the Tibetan [PA]. The latter is correct.

twenty [categories of] form arise [at the moment of birth]: the base-decad and the body-decad.

(*Path* 243,16) How, through birth? It should be known by way of a male or female entering a womb. In the first moment thirty material qualities are produced. They are the basis-decad, body-decad, femininity-decad, masculinity-decad. In the case of a person who is neither a male nor a female, twenty material qualities are produced. They are the basis-decad and the body-decad.

The same theory is given in the *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā* (Vibh-a p. 22) and the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (Mm 37,15; Nārada 311,10, *gabbha-seyyaka-sattānam pana kāya-bhāva-vatthu-dasaka-saṅkhātāni tīṇi dasakāni pātubhavanti, tatthā pi bhāva-dasakaṃ kadāci na labbhati*).

*Vatthu-rūpa*, along with its opposite *avatthu-rūpa*, is used in another sense in the Pāli Abhidhamma, as one of the classifications of form. The *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (Mm 34,20; Nārada 296,19) defines the term in this sense as follows:

*Pasāda-hadaya-saṅkhātāṃ chabbidham pi vatthu-rūpaṇ-nāma, itaraṃ avatthu-rūpaṇ-nāma.*

Form as "base" [for consciousness] is six-fold, consisting of what is called *pasāda* [the five sense bases] and the heart-base. The rest are "form as non-base".

This classification derives from the list of synonyms given for the five sense bases in the *Dhammasaṅgāṇi* (§§ 597 foll.): *loka, dvāra ... khetta, vatthu*, etc. The *Visuddhimagga* (382 § 78; Mm 21,15) notes that the five sense bases are both "base" and "door" (*pasāda-rūpaṇ vatthuñ c' eva*

*dvāraṇ ca*), while the heart-base, which is not given in the *Dhammasaṅgani*, is a “base” but not a “door” (*yaṃ paṇ’ etha hadaya-rūpaṃ nāma taṃ vatthu na dvāraṃ*).

After defining the 24 types of derived form accepted by the Mahāvihāravāsins, Buddhaghosa, in his *Visuddhimagga* (381 § 71; Mm 19,10), goes on to say:

*Imāni tāva pāṭiyāṃ āgatarūpān’ eva. Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana bala-rūpaṃ sambhava-rūpaṃ jāti-rūpaṃ roga-rūpaṃ ti ekaccānaṃ matena middha-rūpaṃ ti evaṃ aññāni pi rūpāni āharitvā “addhā muni’ si sambuddho n’ atthi nīvaraṇā tavā” ti ādāni vatvā middha-rūpaṃ tāva natthi yevā ti paṭikkhittam. Itaresu roga-rūpaṃ jaratā-aniccatā-gahaṇena gaḥitam eva, jāti-rūpaṃ upacaya-santatiggahaṇena, sambhava-rūpaṃ āpo dhātuggahaṇena, bala-rūpaṃ vāyodhātuggahaṇena gaḥitam eva. Tasmā tesu ekam pi visuṃ n’ atthi ti sannīṭṭhānaṃ gataṃ. Iti idaṃ catuvisati-vidhaṃ upādāya-rūpaṃ pubbe vuttaṃ catubbidha-bhūtarūpaṃ ca ti aṭṭhavisati-vidhaṃ rūpaṃ hoti anūnaṃ-anadhikaṃ.*

Only this many [types of] form are given in the Pāli [i.e. in the *Tīpīṭaka*].<sup>1</sup> In the *Aṭṭhakathā*, however, other [types of] form are brought in: *bala-rūpa*, *sambhava-rūpa*, *jāti-rūpa*, *roga-rūpa*, and, in the opinion of some, *middha-rūpa*. [Because the *Abhidhamma* states that form is not to be abandoned, *apahātubba*, while torpor, as one of the hindrances, *nīvaraṇa*, is to be abandoned, as the verse says:]

“Surely you are a sage, fully enlightened:

<sup>1</sup> As noted above, the sole canonical source, the *Dhammasaṅgani*, lists only 23.

there are no hindrances in you”,<sup>1</sup>

*middha-rūpa*, physical torpor, is rejected as simply non-existent. As for the others, *roga-rūpa* is included in the categories of decay and impermanence; *jāti-rūpa*, “birth of form” belongs to the categories of growth and continuity; *sambhava-rūpa* is included under the water-element; and *bala-rūpa* is included under the air-element. Therefore it is definitely understood that not one of these exists independently. Thus these 24 types of derived form and the previously mentioned fourfold elemental form make 28 types of form, no more and no less.

From this passage several important conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, the *jāti-rūpa* or *rūpassa jāti*<sup>2</sup> of the *Vimuttimagga* list was not accepted by the Mahāvihāravāsins as a separate or distinct entity, although, since it was mentioned in an unnamed *Aṭṭhakathā* it was acceptable as a concept for the growth and continuity of form. (A similar interpretation is given in the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, Mm 34,10, Nārada 286,7, *jāti-rūpaṃ eva paṇ’ etha upacaya-santati-nāmena pavuccati ti*.) Secondly, *middha-rūpa*, “physical torpor” — described significantly not as from the *Aṭṭhakathā* but as according to “the opinion of some” — was rejected outright.

From this we see that the *Vimuttimagga* disagrees with the Mahāvihāravāsin tradition on one of the most fundamental categories of the *Abhidhamma*, the definition of form, by including two extra items: the conventionally acceptable *rūpassa jāti* and the totally unacceptable *middha-rūpa*. The *Vimuttimagga* thereby gives a total of 26 varieties of

<sup>1</sup> Citation from *Sutta-nipāta* v. 541cd.

<sup>2</sup> I take these two terms to be equivalent. For the *gzugs kyī skye ba* of the Savī have given *rūpassa jāti* on the analogy of the *rūpassa upacaya*, etc., of the Pāli.

derived form. The *Visuddhimagga*, however, states emphatically that only 24 varieties are found in the Pāli, and that, added to the four great elements, these make a total of 28 constituents of the form aggregate, *no more and no less*, against the *Vimuttimagga* total of 30.

Although the *Visuddhimagga* attributes the "heresy" of *mīdhārūpa* to the opinion of an unspecified "some" (*ekaccānaṃ matena*), the *Ṭīkā* tells us that this refers to the Abhayagirivāsins: *ekaccānaṃ ti abhayagiri-vāsinaṃ*.<sup>1</sup> Thus the inclusion of *mīdhā-rūpa* in both the Chinese version and the Tibetan extracts of the *Vimuttimagga* is convincing evidence that the *Vimuttimagga* contains classifications that were categorically rejected by the Mahāvihāra but accepted by the Abhayagiri school.

Following the list of the 30 constituents of the form-aggregate, the *Vimuttimagga* classifies them according to the various categories of the Abhidhamma. The classifications of the three "extra" (from the standpoint of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*) items of the *Vimuttimagga* list that can be extracted from Daśabalaśrīmitra's abridged citation are given in Table 2.

The classification of *vathu-rūpa* agrees with that given for *hadaya-vathu* in the *Visuddhimagga* and other Mahāvihāravāsini texts. Thus the *Vimuttimagga* and the Mahāvihāravāsins agree on these points. Since the latter reject both *mīdhā* and *rūpassa jāti*, they do not include them in their scheme of classification.

The classification into *upādīṇa*, etc., reads as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Paramatthamañjūsāya nāma Visuddhimagga-sañvaṇṇanāya Mahāṭīkā-sammatāya tatiyo bhāgo*, Mahāmakutarājavidyalaya, Bangkok, 2508 [1965], p. 48,2.

(D 181a2; Q 93a7) *yañ zgugs thams cad ni nram pa gsum ste 'di ltar/ zin pa'i zgugs dañ/ ma zin pa'i zgugs dañ/ nram par phye ba'i zgugs so//*

1) *de la las las skyes pas zin pa'i zgugs la dgu ste 'di ltar/ dban po'i zgugs brgyad dañ/ dnos po'i no bo'o//*

2) *las las ma skyes pa'i don gyis ma zin pa'i zgugs la* (Q om. *la*) *dgu ni 'di ltar/ sgra dañ/ lus kyi nram par* (Q om. *nram par*) *rig byed dañ/ nag gi nram par rig byed* (Q *nram rig* only) *dañ/ zgugs kyi yañ ba ñid dañ/ zgugs kyi 'jam pa ñid dañ/ las su run ba dañ/ rga ba dañ/ mi rtag pa dañ/ gñid do//*

3) *gñi ga yin pa'i don gyis nram par phye ba'i zgugs la bcu gñis ni 'di ltar/ lhag ma zgugs bcu gñis so//*

Furthermore, all form (*sabbam rūpaṃ*) is of three types: *upādīṇa-rūpa*, *anupādīṇa-rūpa*,<sup>2</sup> and *\*vibhatta-rūpa*.<sup>2</sup>

1) Herein, *upādīṇa-rūpa*, which arises from *kamma* (*kamma-ja*), is of 9 [types]: the 8 [types of] form which are faculties

<sup>1</sup> *Zin pa-ma zin pa* are the regular Tibetan equivalents of the technical terms *upāta-anupāta* of the Vaiśiṣṭikas. As noted by Karunadasa (1967, pp. 103 foll.), *upāta-anupāta* as employed in the *Abhidharmakośa* have a different meaning from the *upādīṇa-anupādīṇa* of the Theravādin Abhidhamma. However, since the classifications and definitions as *kammaja*, etc., agree with those of the Pāli, and since *zin pa*, "grasped, appropriated", etc., means the same as *upādīṇa*, there can be no doubt that these are the correct equivalents in this context.

<sup>2</sup> *Nram par phye ba* is the usual Tibetan equivalent of *vibhajya*; Hirakawa et al. (p. 157) also give *vibhakta*, *vipañcita*, and *vyukta*; Yamaguchi (p. 129) gives *vikalpitu*, *vibhāga*; Mvy 6838 *vicitā*. The PTSD (p. 629) has "divided, distributed, parted, partitioned, having divisions ..." for *vibhatta*, since it does not seem to be a technical term in Pāli, this is a tentative equivalent.

(*indriya-rūpa*: eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, femininity, masculinity, life) plus *vatthu-rūpa*.

2) In the sense of not arising from kamma (*akamma-jatthena*), *anupādiṇṇa-rūpa* is of 9 [types]: sound (*sadda*), bodily expression (*kāya-viññatti*), vocal expression (*vacī-viññatti*), lightness of form (*rūpassa lahutā*), plasticity of form (*rūpassa mudutā*), wieldiness (*kammaññatā*), decay (*jarā*), impermanence, (*aniccatā*), and torpor (*middha*).

3) In the sense of being both (*ubhayatthena*), *\*vibhatta-rūpa* is of 12 types, that is, the remaining 12 [types of] form.

The Chinese version as given in the *Path* (244,28), while revealing some difficulties in translation, agrees with the Sav:

All material qualities can be divided into three kinds. They are non-material qualities and arrested material qualities.<sup>1</sup>

1) Here nine material qualities are feeling [*upādiṇṇa*, PA]. They are the eight faculties and the material basis, because they are produced owing to kamma-result.

2) Nine material qualities are<sup>2</sup> the sense-object of sound, body-intimacy, speech-intimacy and the material basis, because they are produced owing to kamma-result.

<sup>1</sup> The *Path* garbles the text. "They are *upādiṇṇa*, *anupādiṇṇa*, and 'perishable'" [PA]. The last, "perishable" presumably translates a form in *BHĀṆU* against the *BHĀJ* of the Tibetan.

<sup>2</sup> "Nine material qualities are *anupādiṇṇa*:" ... [PA]. The *Path* omits *anupādiṇṇa*.

of matter and torpidity. These are not produced through kamma-result.

3) The other twelve material qualities are breakable ones because they have two kinds of significance (?).<sup>1</sup>

The classification into *upādiṇṇa-anupādiṇṇa* is given only as a *duka-mātikā* in the *Dhammasaṅgani* (§§ 585, 653-54); however, as the group from *rūpāyatana* to *kabaḷinkāra āhāra* is given under both categories, this implies the third *\*vibhatta* category of the *Vimuttimaggā*. The itemisation of the *Vimuttimaggā* and the *Dhammasaṅgani* is otherwise identical, except, of course, that the former adds *vatthu-rūpa*, *rūpassa jāti*, and *middha*.

The passage on *sabhāva-rūpa*, etc., reads as follows:

(D 181a7; Q 93b6) *yaṅ gzuḡs thams cad la rnam pa lha<sup>2</sup> ni 'di ltar raṅ bñin gyi gzuḡs dan/ rnam par 'gyur ba 'i gzuḡs dan/ mtshan ñid kyi (Q om. kyi) gzuḡs dan/ yohs su chad pa 'i gzuḡs sol/*

1) *de la yohs su rdzogs pa 'i don gyis raṅ bñin gyi gzuḡs la dbye ba bcu dgu (D dgu bcu [!]) ste/ 'di ltar/ gaṅ rags pa 'i gzuḡs su gsuṅs ba 'i bcu gnīs po de dan/ bud med kyi dbaṅ po dan/ skyes pa 'i dbaṅ po dan/ srog gi dbaṅ po dan/ chu 'i khamṅs dan/ kham gyi zas dan/ dhoṅ po 'i ho bo dan/ gnīd (Q ñid) do//*

<sup>1</sup> The uncertainty is expressed by the translators of the *Path*. The Chinese agrees with the Tibetan: "in the sense of being both" (*ubhayatthena*) [PA]. That is, the items of the last category are both *upādiṇṇa* and *anupādiṇṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> The text states "five (*lha*)", but lists only four, as do the *Path* and the *Visuddhimagga*; thus "five" must be an error.

2) *rañ bzin gyi gzugs rnam par 'gyur ba 'i don gyis rnam par 'gyur ba 'i gzugs la bdun ni 'di ltar/ lus kyi rnam par rig byed dan/ nag gi rnam par rig byed dan/ gzugs kyi yan ba ñid dan/ gzugs kyi 'jam pa ñid dan/ las su ruh ba ñid dan/ gzugs kyi 'phel ba dan/ gzugs kyi rgyud do/*

3) *'dus byas kyi don gyis (Q adds na) mtshan ñid kyi gzugs la gsum ni 'di ltar/ gzugs kyi skye ba dan/ gzugs kyi rga ba dan/ gzugs kyi mi rtag pa 'o/*

4) *tshogs pa yoñs su chad pa 'i don gyis yoñs su chad pa 'i gzugs gcig ni 'di ltar/ nam mkha 'i khams so/ 'dir rañ bzin gyi gzugs gañ yin pa de (D de 'i) yoñs su chad pa yin gyi lhag ma ni yoñs su ma chad pa 'o/*

Furthermore, all form (*sabbaṃ rūpaṃ*) is of four<sup>1</sup> types: intrinsic form (*sabhāva-rūpa*), transforming form (*vikāra-rūpa*), characterising form (*lakṣhaṇa-rūpa*), and delimiting form (*pariccheda-rūpa*).

1) Herein, in the sense of being absolute (*parinipphanatthēna*),<sup>2</sup> there are 19 categories (*bheda*) of intrinsic form: the 12 that have been taught as coarse form (*oḷārika-rūpa*), the femininity-faculty, the masculinity-faculty, the life-faculty, the water-element (*āpo-dhātu*), nutriment (*kabalīṅkāra-āhāra*), *vattu-rūpa*, and torpor (*middha*).

<sup>1</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> *Yoñs su rāzogs pa = parinippanna, paripūrna*, etc., Hirakawa et al. p. 262. While *nippanna* is the preferred term in the Pāli Abhidhamma, *parinippanna* is also used, for example in the *Aṭṭhasālinī*: cf. Karunadasa 1967, p. 42.

2) In the sense of transforming intrinsic form (*sabhāva-rūpa-vipariṇamanaṭṭhēna*),<sup>1</sup> transforming form is of 7 [types]: bodily expression, vocal expression, lightness of form, plasticity of form, wieldiness, growth of form, and continuity of form.

3) In the sense of being conditioned (*saṅkhataṭṭhēna*), characterising form is of three [types]: birth of form, decay of form, and impermanence of form.

4) In the sense of delimiting an aggregation (*kalāpa-paricchedanaṭṭhēna*),<sup>2</sup> there is one delimiting form: the space-element (*ākāsa-dhātu*). Herein, essential form is delimited (*paricchinna*); the remainder (*sesa*) are not delimited (*aparicchinna*).

(*Path* 245,8) Again, all material qualities are of four kinds, by way of intrinsic nature of matter [*sabhāva-rūpa*, PA], material form, material characteristics [*lakṣhaṇa-rūpa*, PA], and delimitation of matter [*pariccheda-rūpa*, PA].<sup>3</sup>

1) Here 19 material qualities are intrinsic [*sabhāva*, PA]. They are the 12 gross material qualities, femininity, masculinity, life-

<sup>1</sup> This is tentative: *rnam par 'gyur ba = vipariṇāma, vikāra*, Hirakawa et al. pp. 155–56; *vikṛti*, Yamaguchi p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Tshogs (pa) = kalāpa, saṃghāta, samudāya, samūha, sāmagrī*, etc., Hirakawa et al. p. 225: the reference is to the Abhidhammic atom, *rūpa-kalāpa*, for which see Karunadasa 1967, Ch. VIII, and especially p. 152, "Every *rūpa-kalāpa* is delimited (*paricchindate*) by the enviroing *ākāsa*, space".

<sup>3</sup> The first term, *sabhāva-rūpa*, is clear. The second might be equivalent to *vikāra- or vipariṇamana-rūpa*. The third should be "characterising form" (*lakṣhaṇa-rūpa*) rather than the "material characteristics" of the *Path*, and the fourth "delimiting form" (*pariccheda-rūpa*) rather than "delimitation of matter" [PA].

principle, element of water, solid food, material basis, and material quality of eye,<sup>1</sup> because they limit (?).<sup>2</sup>

2) Seven material qualities are material form. They are body-intimation, speech-intimation, buoyancy of matter, impressibility of matter, workability of matter, integration of matter, continuity of matter, and intrinsic nature of matter, because they change.<sup>3</sup>

3) Three material qualities are material characteristics [*lakkhaṇa-rūpa*, PA]. They are birth of matter, decay of matter, and impermanency of matter, because they are conditioned.

4) One material quality is delimitation of matter [*pariccheda-rūpa*, PA]. It is space-element, because it defines the groups.<sup>4</sup> Here, through intrinsic nature one discriminates, not through the others.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Material quality of eye" in fact represents *middha*, as in the Tibetan. One of the Chinese terms for *middha* is the character for "eye": see Akira Hirakawa et al., *Index to the Abhidharmakośābhāṣya* (Peking Edition), Part One, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese, Tokyo, 1973, p. 295 [PA].

<sup>2</sup> The uncertainty is expressed by the translators of the *Path*. The character rendered as "limit (?)" also means "definite", "ultimate" (*atyanta*, *accanta*): see William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, [London, 1937] Delhi, 1987, 361a [PA]. The definition is probably equal to the Tibetan, "in the sense of being absolute".

<sup>3</sup> The Chinese lists only the seven items of the Tibetan. "Intrinsic nature of matter" (= *sabhāva-rūpa*) belongs to the concluding statement, which agrees roughly with the Tibetan [PA].

<sup>4</sup> "Because it defines the groups" = "in the sense of delimiting an aggregation" of the Tibetan; the Pāli here would also be *kalāpa-paricchedanaṭṭhena* [PA].

<sup>5</sup> The Chinese of this sentence again corresponds exactly to the Tibetan: "Herein, essential form is delimited (*paricchinna*); the remainder (*sesa*) are not delimited (*aparicchinna*)" [PA].

A similar fourfold classification is given in the *Visuddhimagga* (382 § 77; Mm 21,12):

*Nipphanna-rūpaṃ paṇ' ettha rūpa-rūpaṃ nāma ākāsa-dhātu pariccheda-rūpaṃ nāma kāyaviññatti ādi kammaññatā-pariyantaṃ vikāra-rūpaṃ nāma jāti-jarā-bhaṅgaṃ lakkhaṇa-rūpaṃ nāmā ti evaṃ rūparūpādi-catukka-vasena catubbīdhaṃ.*

Absolute form [18 items: 4 elements, 13 starting with the eye, plus nutriment] is "form as form"; the space-element is "delimiting form"; from bodily expression to wieldiness are "transforming form"; birth, decay, and destruction are "characterising form". Thus, form is fourfold through the four groups starting with "form as form".

The *rūpa-rūpa* of Buddhaghosa is equivalent to the *sabhāva-rūpa* of the *Vimuttimaggā* and consists of the same items, except that the latter adds *middha*. Buddhaghosa equates *rūpa-rūpa* with *nipphanna-rūpa*, which he defines as *sabhāveneva pariggahetabbo*, "to be comprehended in its intrinsic nature". At a later date, Anuruddha, in his *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (Mm 34,5; Nārada 285,22), gives *sabhāva-rūpa* as the preferred name for this category, thus agreeing with the *Vimuttimaggā*.<sup>1</sup>

#### D. A note on the heart-basis in the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*

To return to the theory of the heart basis, we may note that it was also known to other North Indian sources, for example the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* of Yaśomitra and the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* of Hsüan-tsang.<sup>2</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> cf. Karunadasa 1967, pp. 42 foll. for a thorough study of the concept of *nipphanna-rūpa* and its implications.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Yaśomitra's reference, see Skilling 1993B.

the latter, the theory of the heart-basis, without being named as such, is attributed to the Śthāviras:

Les Śthāviras disent qu'il y a dans la poitrine un *rūpa*, un *rūpadravya*, analogue à l'oeil, etc., qui sert d'*indriya* au *manovijñāna*.<sup>1</sup>

The Śthāviras say that there is within the bosom of every sentient being a *rūpa*, a *rūpadravya*, something substantial, analogous to the eye, etc., which serves as the *indriya* of *manovijñāna*.<sup>2</sup>

If the use of the Sanskrit technical term *indriya* here is correct, it does not agree with either the *Vimuttimaggā* or the Mahāvihāra tradition. For the former we have the following passage:

(D 181a1; Q 93a5) *gān yañ gzugs la rnam pa gñis ni 'di ltar/ dbaṅ po'i gzugs dan/ dbaṅ po min pa'i gzugs so// de la bdag po'i don gyis (Q gyi) dbaṅ po'i gzugs la brgyad ni 'di ltar/ mig dan/ rna ba dan/ sna dan/ lce dan/ lus dan/ bud med kyi dbaṅ po dan/ skyes pa'i dbaṅ po dan/ srog gi dbaṅ po'o// dbaṅ po dan mi ldan pa'i don gyis dbaṅ po min pa'i gzugs la ñi šu ñer gñis te 'di ltar// gzugs lhag ma rnam so//*

Furthermore, there are two types of form: form as faculty (*indriya-rūpa*) and form as non-faculty (*anindriya-rūpa*).

<sup>1</sup> Louis de La Vallée Poussin (tr.), *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, la Siddhi de Huan-Tsang*, Vol. I, Paris, 1928, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> Wei Tat (tr.), *Ch'eng Wei-Shih Lun, The Doctrine of Mere-Consciousness*, Hong Kong, 1976, p. 327. Although Wei Tat's version is purportedly rendered directly from the Chinese, in the present case it seems to be dependent on La Vallée Poussin, particularly for the Sanskrit terms.

Herein, in the sense of exercising sovereignty (*adhipatiyaṭṭhena*), there are 8 [types of] form as faculty: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body, the femininity-faculty, masculinity-faculty, and life-faculty. In the sense of not possessing faculties there are 22 [types of] form that are non-faculty, that is, the remaining [types of] form.

(*Path* 244,21) And again, there are two kinds. They are faculty and non-faculty.<sup>2</sup> Here 8 material qualities are faculty. They are the five internals (possibly, five sentient organs),<sup>3</sup> the faculty of femininity, of masculinity, and life; they are so because of dependence. The other 22 are non-faculty, because they are non-dependent.

For the Mahāvihāra, this distinction goes back to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (§§ 661–62):

*Katamaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ indriyaṃ ? Kakkhu-indriyaṃ sotindriyaṃ ghānindriyaṃ jivhindriyaṃ kāyindriyaṃ itthindriyaṃ purisindriyaṃ jīvitindriyaṃ, idaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ indriyaṃ.*

*Katamaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ na indriyaṃ ? Rupāyatanaṃ ... pe ... kabalīkāro āhāro, idaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ na indriyaṃ.*

<sup>1</sup> *Dbaṅ po dan mi ldan pa'i don gyis*: it is possible that *dbaṅ po* = *indriya* (in both D and Q) is a mistake for *bdag po* = *adhipati*, as in the definition of *indriya-rūpa*.

<sup>2</sup> As noted by the translators of the *Path* (p. 244, note 1), the Chinese in fact has "Lit. Life-faculty and non-life-faculty" [*jīvitindriya*, *qīvitindriya*, PA] throughout. It is clear that the term equals the *indriya* of the Tibetan.

<sup>3</sup> This is the translators' parenthesis. As seen from the Tibetan, the reference is to the five "internal" faculties: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body.



As mentioned above, however, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* does not include *hadaya-vatthu* in its list of form. That it is not *indriya-rūpa* is made clear by the *Visuddhimagga* (381 § 73; Mm 20,14):

*Pasādarūpaṃ [= cakkhādi pañcavidhaṃ rūpaṃ] eva  
ittindriyādittayena saddhiṃ adhipatyaṭṭhena indriyaṃ, sesaṃ  
tato viparītāṇāṃ anindriyaṃ.*

Just the form of the [5] sense-organs together with the three starting with the femininity-faculty are faculty, in the sense of exercising sovereignty; the remaining [22 faculties] are non-faculty for the opposite reason [that is, because they do not exercise sovereignty].

I may note here that the *adhipatyaṭṭhena* of the *Visuddhimagga* is directly equivalent to the *bdag po'i don gyis* of the Sav. Again, we find the same classification in the *Abhidhammattha-sāṅgaha* (Mm 35,2; Nārada 296,23):

*Pasāda-bhāva-jīvita-saṅkhātāṃ aṭṭhavidhaṃ pi indriyarūpaṃ,  
itaram anindriyarūpaṃ.*

Form as faculty is eightfold: that known as the [5] sense-organs, the [2] sex-faculties, and the life-faculty. The rest are form as non-faculty.

Thus it is clear that for both the *Vimuttimagga* and the Mahāvihāra *vatthu-rūpa* or *hadaya-vatthu* was *anindriya-rūpa*. An interesting explanation for this is put forward by Y. Karunadasa, who writes that unlike the sense-organs, the *hadaya-vatthu* "is not an *indriya*. Because of this reason, although *mano* and *mano-viññāṇa* have *hadaya-vatthu* as their basis, they are not controlled by it in the sense that the relative

strength or weakness of the latter does not influence the former. Since mental culture is a central theme in Buddhism, the scholiasts seem to have taken the view that it is not proper to conceive *mano* and *mano-viññāṇa* as controlled by the *hadaya-vatthu*, although the latter is recognised as the physical basis of the former".<sup>1</sup>

## E. Conclusions

There is on-going debate about the school affiliation of the *Vimuttimagga*. While it is accepted that the text belongs to the broader Theravādin tradition, there is disagreement as to whether or not it can be associated with the Abhayagirivāsins.<sup>2</sup> My own conclusion — based primarily on the sections of the *Vimuttimagga* discussed in this article — is that it may indeed be associated with that school. My evidence and arguments are as follows:

- 1) The *Vimuttimagga* clearly belongs to the Theravādin tradition, and therefore should belong to either the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri, or the Jetavanīya school.
- 2) The *Vimuttimagga* cannot have been transmitted by the post-Buddhaghosa Mahāvihāra, since it disagrees with the texts of that school on a number of points, such as the important definition of one of the four elements and the inclusion of *rūpassa jāti* and *middha* as an elemental form.<sup>3</sup> The passages translated above or given in Table 2 on the classification of *rūpassa jāti* and *middha-rūpa* show that they are fully

<sup>1</sup> Karunadasa 1967, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> See Norman 1983, p. 29 and accompanying note, and pp. 159–60. The most recent contribution to the debate is Norman 1991, pp. 41–50, which gives an extensive bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> For other points on which the *Vimuttimagga* disagrees with the Mahāvihāra, see P.V. Bapat, *Vimuktimārga Dhutaḡaṇa-nirdeśa*, Bombay, 1964, pp. xviii–xix.

integrated into the system of the *Vimuttimagga*. Furthermore, while the Mahāvihāra rejected *middharūpa* categorically, in the *Vimuttimagga* it is classified as a *sabhāva-rūpa*, the most substantial type of derived form, thus placing it ontologically on a par with the four elements, the five sense-bases, and the five sense-objects.

3) None of this information is new, since it has long been available in the Chinese *Vimuttimagga* itself and in English translation in the *Path*. However, the fact that the material on *middha-rūpa* is confirmed perfectly by a North Indian text in Tibetan translation has not been previously noted. The inclusion and description of *middha-rūpa* as a type of derived form in the *Vimuttimagga* is thus solidly based on two versions separated by thousands of kilometres and about six centuries.

4) These are not, as suggested by some scholars, minor points.<sup>1</sup> According to the Theravādin Abhidhamma tradition, there are four ultimates (*paramattha*): mind (*citta*), mental states (*cetasika*), form (*rūpa*), and nibbāna.<sup>2</sup> When the *Vimuttimagga* disagrees with the Mahāvihāra tradition on the definitions of both constituents of one of these ultimates, form — of the four basic elements and of derived form — this is a major point of contention. The fact that Buddhaghosa takes pains to discuss *rūpassa jāti* and *middha-rūpa* in his *Visuddhimagga*, and that he is so emphatic about the numbers of types of derived form, itself shows that this was a controversial point.

<sup>1</sup> See for example Nānamoli, Introduction p. xxviii: "That [the *Vimuttimagga*] contains some minor points accepted by the Abhayagiri Monastery does not necessarily imply that it had any special connexion with that centre ... the disputed points are not schismatical". Nānamoli's statement is cited and approved at *Path* xxxvii; see also *Path* xxxii–xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Abhidhammatthasangaha*, Mm 1, 6, Nārada 6, 10.

5) Buddhaghosa attributes the theory of *middha-rūpa* to an anonymous "some"; the *Ṭikā* specifies that this refers to the adherents of the Abhayagiri tradition, which eliminates the Jetavanīyas. This statement may, of course, be wrong, since no commentator is infallible. However, since the author of the *Ṭikā* was a learned Theravādin monk writing in Ceylon, where we know that the different schools lived in close proximity, I see no basis for reasonable doubt, and assume that he is correct in attributing the theory of *middha-rūpa* to the Abhayagiri.<sup>1</sup>

6) It is sometimes suggested that the *Vimuttimagga* cannot belong to the Abhayagiri because it shows no sign of Mahāyāna influence. This is beside the point: as an Abhidhammic meditation manual, there is no reason that it should. Monks of the Abhayagiri tradition who practised the Mahāyāna would have been defined as Abhayagirivāsīn by their Vinaya lineage; whether or not they composed their own "Mahāyānist" texts cannot be said, but they would certainly not have tampered with the ancient literature of the school. At any rate, Bechert (1992) has shown that "Mahāyānist" ideas are present in such Mahāvihāra texts as the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and *Buddhāpādāna*: the absence or presence of such ideas tells us nothing about school-affiliation within the greater Theravādin lineage.

<sup>1</sup> The authors of the *Ṭikās* certainly had access to Vaibhāṣika texts — which are paraphrased in Pāli in some of their works (for example, Vaibhāṣika explanations of the number and order of the 22 faculties [*indriya*] given in the *Visuddhimagga-ṭikā*, *Vibhaṅga-anuṭṭikā*, and *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī*) — and I see no reason to doubt that they had direct access to Abhayagiri works. Reference to philosophical opponents as "some" or "others" would rarely if ever suggest that a writer did not know the name or school of his opponents: rather it was a matter of protocol, widely followed in Sanskrit Buddhist texts of all periods. In both the Pāli and Sanskrit tradition, it was left to the commentators to name the opponents if they so chose.

I therefore conclude that the *Vimuttimaggā*, which asserts the existence of a type of intrinsic form, *sabhāva-rūpa*, called *middha*, was a manual transmitted by the Abhayagiri school within the greater Theravādin tradition.<sup>1</sup> I use the word "transmitted" advisedly: there is no evidence to date that Upatissa was a native of Ceylon or that he composed his only surviving work at the Abhayagiri Vihāra. The *Vimuttimaggā* may have been composed elsewhere in Ceylon, in India, or perhaps even South-east Asia.

Who transmitted the *Vimuttimaggā* in India? This is an open question. I can only note that Daśabalaśrīmitra attributes his citations to the Sthāviras — whether those of Ceylon or of India cannot be said.<sup>2</sup> According to *L'Inde classique* (§ 2147), the *Vimuttimaggā* was translated from a manuscript brought to China in about 502 by another monk of Funan. Unfortunately, no source is given. If the information can be shown to be reliable, this would be important evidence for the presence of non-Mahāvihāra Theravāda in South-east Asia at an early date.

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### Abbreviations and Bibliography

References to Pāli texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society, with standard abbreviations, unless otherwise noted.

- D Derge (sDe dge) edition of the Tibetan *Tanjur* ("Karmapa reprint", copy courtesy Prof. H. Bechert, Göttingen)

<sup>1</sup> For references to other works considered by some to be affiliated with the Abhayagiri see Norman 1983 and 1991 and Skilling 1993A.

<sup>2</sup> For the question of the Sthāviras presence in India, see Skilling 1987 and 1993B.

- KBC Lewis L. Lancaster in collaboration with Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Berkeley, 1979
- Mm Thai script edition(s) of Mahāmakaṭṭarājavidyālaya, Bangkok
- Mvy R. Sakaki (ed.), *Mahāvyyutpatti*, Kyōto, 1926 [repr. Suzuki Research Foundation, Tōkyō, n. d.]
- [PA] Comments on the Chinese text by Dr. Prapod Assavavirulhakarn (see note 1 on p. 4)
- Path N.R.M. Ehara, Soma Thera, and Kheminda Thera, *The Path of Freedom (Vimuttimaggā)*, [Colombo, 1961] Kandy, 1977
- Q Peking (Qianlong) edition of the Tibetan *Tanjur* ("Otani reprint")
- Sav 'Dus byas dañ 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa. D 3897, Vol. 108, *dbu ma, ha*; Q 5865, Vol. 146, *no mtshar bstan bcos, ño*.
- T Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka

*Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*: Thai script edition, Mahāmakaṭṭarājavidyālaya, Bangkok, 2516 [1973]; Nārada Mahā Thera (ed., tr.), *A Manual of Abhidhamma, being Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha of Bhaddanta Anuruddhācariya*, 5th. ed., Kuala Lumpur, 1987

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- Skilling, Peter, 1993A: "A Citation from the \**Buddhavaṃsa* of the Abhayagiri School", *JPTS XVIII*, pp. 165–75
- Skilling, Peter, 1993B: "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS XIX*, pp. 69–201
- Yamaguchi, Susumu, 1974: *Index to the Prasannapādā Madhyamakavṛtti*, Part Two, Tibetan-Sanskrit, Kyoto

Table 1: The 26 types of derived form<sup>1</sup>

<i>Saṃskṛtāsāṃskṛta-viniścaya</i> (D 179a5; Q 90b8)	<i>The Path of Freedom</i> (238,12)
	The sense organs of
*1. <i>mīg</i> <i>cakkhu</i> eye	1. eye
*2. <i>rna</i> <i>ba</i> <i>sota</i> ear	2. ear
*3. <i>sna</i> <i>ghāna</i> nose	3. nose
*4. <i>lce</i> <i>jivhā</i> tongue	4. tongue
*5. <i>lus</i> <i>kāya</i> body	5. body
*6. <i>gzugs</i> <i>rūpa</i> [visible] form	6. matter as sense-object
*7. <i>sgra</i> <i>sadda</i> sound	7. sound as sense-object

<sup>1</sup> An asterisk indicates that an item is given in the *Dhammasaṅgani* list (§ 596).

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*8.	<i>dri</i> <i>gandha</i> odour	8. odour as sense-object
*9.	<i>ro</i> <i>rasa</i> taste	9. taste as sense-object
—	( <i>reg pa</i> ) ( <i>phassa</i> ) (contact)	—
*10.	<i>bud med kyi dban po</i> <i>itthindriya</i> femininity-faculty	10. femininity
*11.	<i>skyes pa 'i dban po</i> <i>purisindriya</i> masculinity-faculty	11. masculinity
*12.	<i>srog gi dban po</i> <i>jivindriya</i> life-faculty	12. life-principle
*13.	<i>lus kyi rig byed</i> <i>kāyaviññatti</i> bodily expression	13. body-intimation
*14.	<i>ṅag gi rig byed</i> <i>vacivīññatti</i> vocal expression	14. speech-intimation
*15.	<i>nam mkha 'i kham</i> <i>ākāsadhātu</i> space element	15. element of space

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	<i>The form-aggregate according to the Vimuttimaggā</i>	207
*16.	<i>gzugs kyi yañ ba ñid<sup>2</sup></i> <i>rūpassa lahutā</i> lightness of form	16. buoyancy of matter
*17.	<i>gzugs kyi 'jam pa ñid</i> <i>rūpassa mudutā</i> plasticity of form	17. impressibility of matter
*18.	<i>gzugs kyi las su ruñ ba ñid</i> <i>rūpassa kammaññatā</i> wieldiness of form	18. adaptability of matter
*19.	<i>gzugs kyi 'phel ba<sup>3</sup></i> <i>rūpassa upacaya</i> growth of form	19. integration of matter
*20.	<i>gzugs kyi rgyud</i> <i>rūpassa santati</i> continuity of form	20. continuity of matter
21.	<i>gzugs kyi skye ba<sup>4</sup></i> <i>rūpassa jāti</i> birth of form	21. arising of matter <sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> D *span* for *yañ*.

<sup>3</sup> Also at Q 91b1, 94a2. '*Phel ba*, increase, development, growth, etc., is given as the equivalent of Sanskrit *upacaya* at Mvy 7437, and in Yamaguchi, p. 145. Other equivalents include *virūdhī*, *vivardhana*, *vrddhi*, *caya*, etc. The *Visuddhimagga* (380 § 67, Mm III 18,10) gives *vaddhi* as a synonym of *upacaya* "according to the Aṭṭhakathā". Both Nāṇamoli (p. 489) and Karunadasa (1967, pp. 78, etc.) translate *upacaya* as "growth".

<sup>4</sup> Also at Q 91b1, 94a2.

<sup>5</sup> "Arising of matter" is omitted here in the English translation (*Path*, 238,17) but found in the Chinese of the Taishō edition (445c22). It is given at *Path* 240,25, where it is defined as "the arising of material objects is the coming to birth of matter", as well as at 241,26 ("birth of matter"), 242,5,28 ("birth"), 245,17 ("birth of matter").

*22.	<i>gzugs kyi rga ba</i> <sup>6</sup> <i>rūpassa jara[īā]</i> decay of form	22. decay of matter
*23.	<i>gzugs kyi mi rtag pa</i> <i>rūpassa anicca[īā]</i> impermanence of form	23. impermanency of matter
*24.	<i>kham kyi zas</i> <sup>7</sup> <i>kabalīnkāra-āhāra</i> nutriment	24. solid food
25.	<i>dhos po'i no bo</i> <sup>8</sup> <i>vathurūpa</i> form as base	25. the basis of the material element
26.	<i>gñid</i> <sup>9</sup> <i>middha</i> torpor	26. the material quality of torpor ( <i>middha-rūpa</i> )

<sup>6</sup> Same at Q 93b1, 94a3 but *gzugs kyi rñins pa* at 91b2.

<sup>7</sup> Also at Q 91b1, 93b8.

<sup>8</sup> Also at Q 91a6, 93a8, 93b8. *Dhos po = vastu, padārtha, bhāva* (Yamaguchi, pp. 41–44); *Mvy 793, 949, etc.*; Hīrakawa et al. p. 50. *No bo = rūpa* (Yamaguchi, p. 41), also *bhāva* (Hīrakawa et al., p. 49). Note that while both *Sav* and the *Path* place *vathurūpa* here as § 25, the *Visuddhimagga* places the equivalent *hadayavattu* between §§ 12 and 13.

<sup>9</sup> Also at Q 91a8 (correct *ñid* to *gñid*), 93b2, 93b8 (correct *ñid* to *gñid*).

Table 2: Classification of *vathu-rūpa*, *middha*, and *rūpassa jāti*

	A. Vattū-rūpa	B. Middha	C. Rūpassa jāti	
1)	<i>las kyi kun tu bslan ba</i> Q 91a5, D 179b1 <i>kamma-samuññāna</i> arisen from kamma <sup>1</sup>	<i>das dan sems dan zas kyi kyis kun tu bslan ba</i> Q 91a7, D 179b3 <i>utu-citta-dhāra-samuññāna</i> arisen from temperature, mind, and nutriment	<i>das dan las dan sems dan zas rñams kyi kun tu bslan ba</i> Q 91a8, D 179b3 <i>utu-kamma-citta-dhāra-samuññāna</i> arisen from lime, kamma, mind, and nutriment	idem
2)	<i>phra mo</i> , Q 93a3, D 180b7 <i>svūkhuma</i> subtle	idem	idem	idem
3)	<i>phyi rol</i> , Q 93a4, D 180b7 <i>bahiddhā</i> outer	idem	idem	idem

<sup>1</sup> The *vathu-dasakta* is also described as *las kyi kun nas bslan ba* (Q 91b3, D 179b1).

- |    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 4) | <i>dbant po min</i> , Q 93a6, D 181a2<br><i>amindriya</i><br>non-faculty  | idem  | idem   |
| 5) | <i>zin pa</i> , Q 93a8, D 181a3<br><i>upādāṇa</i><br>grasped  | <i>ma zin pa</i> , Q 93a8, D 181a3<br><i>anupādāṇa</i><br>ungrasped | <i>mam par phye ba</i> , Q 93b2, D 181a4<br>* <i>yibhatta</i><br>to be distinguished (?)     |
| 6) | <i>bstan du med pa thogs pa med pa</i><br>Q 93b5, D 181a7<br><i>anidassana-appatigha</i><br>invisible and non-obstructive | idem  | idem   |
| 7) | <i>ranī bān gyi graugs</i> , Q 93b7, D 181b1<br><i>sabhāva-rūpa</i><br>intrinsic form                                     | idem  | <i>māṣan nīd kyī graugs</i> , Q 94a2, D 181b3<br><i>lakkhana-rūpa</i><br>characterising form |

PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES XII<sup>1</sup>

## TEN PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here is another random group of words which are either omitted from PED,<sup>2</sup> or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there, or misunderstood by translators.

1. (*a*)*pi*; emphatic particle
2. *abhijāna* "knowledge"
3. *assa* = *yassa*
4. *kañcana* "golden"
5. *kañcanadepiccha* "golden two-winged one"
6. *khuddā* "bee", *khudda(ka)* "honey"
7. *je*: vocative particle
8. *dhoreyya* "foremost"
9. *bārasa* "twelve"
10. *sadhāyamānarūpa* "abusive"

1. (*a*)*pi*: emphatic particle

We find at D III 203,22 the sentence *api ssu naṃ mārisa amanussā rittam pi pattam sise nikkujjeyyūṃ*, which is translated by Rhys Davids

<sup>1</sup> See K.R. Norman, "Pāli Lexicographical Studies XI", in *JPTS* XVIII, 1993, pp. 149-64.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924-48 (= CPD). In addition: BHS(D) = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Dictionary); CP I, II, III, IV = K.R. Norman, *Collected Papers*, Vols. I, II, III, IV, PTS 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993; MW = M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899; PTS = Pāli Text Society; PED = PTS's *Pāli-English Dictionary*; PTC = *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*; AMg = *Ardha-Māgadhī*; Pkt = *Prakrit*; Skt = *Sanskrit*; GDhp = *Gāndhāri Dharmapada*; B<sup>e</sup> = *Burmese edition*; C<sup>e</sup> = *Sinhalese edition*; E<sup>e</sup> = *European edition*; cty/cties = *commentary/ commentaries*.